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No. 9

THE SOURCES OF THE POETRY OF GUTIERRE DE CETINA

BY
ALFRED MILES WITHERS

A THESIS

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN ROMANIC LANGUAGES

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1923

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To

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FOREWORD

It was not until 1895 that an effort was made to publish an edition of the works of Gutierre de Cetina based upon all the extant manuscripts, so that up to that time it could not be said that students of Spanish literature had had a very good opportunity to know the poet fully. Since the publication of this edition several studies have appeared which show the indebtedness of Cetina to individual Italian poets, notably Petrarch, Ariosto, and Tansillo. Even these, however, have not been exhaustive, and the time is now ripe for a more general and a more thorough examination than has hitherto been attempted of the sources of the poetry of this talented sonneteer. Such an examination is the purpose of this study.

The author wishes here to record his indebtedness to Professor Jean B. Beck for several valuable suggestions, and his grateful appreciation of the assistance, in the matter of bibliography and the revision of the manuscript, of Professor Hugo A. Rennert. The latter, together with Professor J. P. W. Crawford, also suggested the subject of the study. To Professor Crawford's active and generous co-operation is largely due whatever value there may be in this modest contribution to the study of the literature of the Renaissance in Spain.

I

Gutierre de Cetina—Biographical Summary

Gutierre de Cetina, son of Beltrán de Cetina and Francisca del Castillo, was born in Seville about the year 1518, or 1519.[1] His family was noble and possessed considerable wealth.

In regard to the poet's early years we have practically no information. The frequent references to the Latin classics that occur in his verses indicate a certain amount of education in the humanities, but concerning this we have no details. Indeed, until comparatively recent times, his whole life has been shrouded in the greatest obscurity,[2] and historians of Spanish literature have been dependent upon statements made by the painter and poet, Francisco Pacheco,[3] who was born in 1564, seven years or more after Cetina's death, and upon the conjectures of Adolfo de Castro[4] and Pérez de Guzmán.[5] The first authoritative account of his life is found in the introduction to the works of Cetina by Sr. Hazañas y la Rúa,[6] to whom also is due the credit of collecting and collating the extant manuscripts of the poet's verses. The editor of those volumes subjected to careful scrutiny the verses of the poet, and made a consider-

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[1] Cetina's own testimony, recorded in documents to be mentioned later, was to the effect that in April of 1554 he was *more than thirty-five years of age*, and Fitzmaurice-Kelly therefore assigns 1518 as the most probable date of his birth.

[2] As late as 1890 he was identified with a certain Doctor or Licenciado Gutierre de Cetina of Madrid, who was living in that city almost three-quarters of a century after the poet's death (see D. E. Gautier y Arriaza, *Gutierre de Cetina, Apuntes biográficos comparativos*, published in *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, September 15, 1890, pp. 159–162). This identification has as little basis of fact as that with a certain Gutierre de Cetina y Abarca, who was born at Cuenca, and who died at Puerto Real in 1604, which was proposed by Sr. Moreno de Guerra in the *Revista de Historia y Genealogía*, Madrid, 1914, pp. 49–60. (See note 9, p. 10.)

[3] Pacheco, who refers to Cetina and includes a portrait of him in his *Libro de descripción de verdaderos retratos de ilustres y memorables varones*, asserts that he was born in Seville about the year 1520, and further speaks of him as author of "un libro de Comedias morales, en prosa i verso; i otro de Comedias profanas, con otras muchas cosas, que por su temprana muerte se perdieron." Nothing further is known regarding these plays.

[4] *Apuntes Biográficos*, in vol. 32 of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, pp. XVI–XVIII.

[5] *Cervantes de Salazar, Salazar de Alarcón, Gutierre de Cetina, los tres patriarcas de la poesía castellana en Méjico*, in *La Ilustración Española y Americana*, 1890, pp. 139 and 210.

[6] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, ed. J. Hazañas y la Rúa, Sevilla, 1895, 2 volumes. This is the first edition that attempts to include all the poet's works.

able contribution to his biography by using references to persons and places that occur in his works.

We do not know in what year, nor under what circumstances, Cetina took up the profession of arms, but his verses clearly show that he participated in the campaigns of Italy and Germany under the banners of Charles V. We find him at Trent in 1542, associated with Diego Hurtado de Mendoza (one of the emperor's envoys to the council held in Trent) to whom he promised to write when the latter absented himself from that city. The following year he sent an *epístola* to Mendoza in which he describes the assault and capture of Duren (August 24, 1543), and in which he also requests of him a painting by Titian as a present. Two years later he wrote an *epístola* from Vigevano to the Princess of Molfetta, which bears the date of April 24 1545.[7] The references in his verses to the Po, Ticino, Rhine and Danube seem to be based upon his residence in Italy and Germany.[8]

With regard to the latter years of the poet's life we have considerable information, thanks to a discovery made by Sr. Rodríguez Marín in the Archivo General de Indias in the autumn of 1905. Prior to this discovery it was known only that Cetina had embarked for the New World about September, 1546, accompanied by his uncle, Gonzalo López, Procurador General de Nueva España. The documents found by Rodríguez Marín consisted of the record of a trial carried on in Mexico City and Los Angeles in 1554 for wounds inflicted on one Gutierre de Cetina.[9]

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[7] This is the only composition among Cetina's works that bears a date.

[8] A number of references to France, Flanders, Hungary, Naples, and Genoa occur in the *Paradoja en Alabanza de los cuernos*, but these cannot be used with certainty in reconstructing Cetina's biography, because his authorship of this work has been questioned. See Hazañas y la Rúa, *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, p. LXXVI.

[9] There seems to be no doubt that the Gutierre de Cetina here referred to was the poet, although it must be admitted that there is nothing in the evidence presented at the trial to support this opinion. Other identifications that have been made are rendered chronologically impossible by the fact that Cetina was no longer living in 1575. This date marks the appearance of Argote de Molina's edition of the *Conde Lucanor* of Don Juan Manuel, in which the editor included his *Discurso de la poesía castellana*. Here we read: "Y el ingenioso Iranço y el terso Cetina, que de lo que escriuieron tenemos buena muestra de lo que pudieran mas hazer, y *lastima de lo que se perdio con su muerte*." (Ed. de Sevilla, 1575, fol. 94.)

According to the testimony given at the trial,[10] Cetina was struck down in Los Angeles on April 1, 1554, by a compatriot, Hernando de Nava, who mistook him in the darkness of night for a rival in love, Francisco de Peralta, while the latter and the poet were engaged in serenading a certain Leonor de Osma, wife of a Los Angeles physician. Nava, son of the *conquistador* who went to Nueva España with Narváez, made every effort to take advantage of local rivalries in jurisdiction between church and state, but was finally arrested, convicted, and sentenced to death. Apparently through ecclesiastical intervention his sentence was commuted to the loss of his right hand. This punishment was effected July 7, 1554.

On June 5, 1557, the Audiencia de Nueva España received a petition for amnesty, which they refused, from Gonzalo Galeote, who was with Nava on the night of the first of April, 1554, and who had since been a fugitive from justice. The petition is important since it contains the statement that Cetina was dead; and it is obviously to be inferred, in view of the seriousness of the wound received by him in the affray, considered by physicians at that time as certain to result in death, that Cetina did not long survive the attack of April 1, 1554.

This, in briefest outline, is all that is known of our poet's life.

A careful study of the verses of Cetina gives us much valuable information concerning his friends and acquaintances in Spain and Italy whom he mentions in his poems, and to whom he addressed certain compositions. His long epistle in *tercetos*

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[10] Drawn both from the victim and from representatives of practically all classes of colonial society in Mexico, this testimony is, in the words of Rodríguez Marín, "tan llena de lances raros y peripecias extraordinarias que más parece una novela judicial que un proceso real y efectivo."

Sr. Menéndez y Pelayo incorporated in his discussion of Cetina in his *Historia de la Poesía Hispano-Americana*, Vol. 1, 1911, pp. 26–30, a letter from Sr. Rodríguez Marín, outlining in its essential features this most interesting account. The mass of legal documents involved was published in full in February, 1919, in the *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, pp. 54–115. Almost three years before, in the same publication, Vol. III, 1916, pp. 325–335, Don Francisco A. de Icaza, Mexican ambassador to Spain, stirred by the romantic elements in Cetina's life as revealed in his poetic works, and in the dramatic circumstances of his death, as depicted in Rodríguez Marín's announcement of the material of his discovery, gave an impressionistic view of great interest for Cetina's career; and the same material, supplemented by excerpts from the testimony of the trial of Nava, forms the basis of that part of his study which treats of Cetina in his book entitled *Sucesos reales que parecen imaginados de Gutierre de Cetina, Juan de la Cueva, y Mateo Alemán*, Madrid, 1919, pp. 23–75, and 211–241.

to Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, with its expressions of warm admiration and friendship, leaves no doubt that these two enjoyed a more or less intimate association. As to possible relations with Garcilaso de la Vega and Boscán, from whom, together with Hurtado de Mendoza, Cetina must have learned much of the art of adapting the new Italian measures to the requirements of the Spanish language, we have little definite information. The only mention of them made by Cetina in the epistle to Mendoza:

> "La imagen de Boscán, que casi viva
> Debéis tener, hará en vuestra memoria
> La más hermosa parecer esquiva.
> Y el Laso de la Vega, cuya historia
> Sabéis, de piedad y envidia llena,
> Digo, de envidiosos de su gloria."

reveals nothing which would indicate a personal relationship. Sr. Hazañas observes that Mendoza, in writing to Boscán, includes the name of Cetina with those of other poets, but that Boscán, in his reply, does not mention Cetina, although he refers to the others. Neither does Cetina mention Hernando de Acuña, who was born probably in the same year as our poet, and who moved in the same society in both Italy and Spain, nor does Acuña refer in any of his verses to Cetina.

There is, however, definite proof of intimate acquaintanceship between Cetina and Jorge de Montemayor in the former's sonnet beginning: *Si como vas, Lusítano, yo fuese.* This poem has the rubric "soneto de Gutierre de Cetina, siendo enamorado en la corte para donde Montemayor se partía," and to it the author of the *Diana* replied with a sonnet under the caption: "Responde Montemayor siendo enamorado en Sevilla, adonde Gutierre de Cetina quedaba."[11]

Baltasar del Alcázar addressed four sonnets to Cetina,[12] familiarly alluding to himself in one of them as "tu mísero

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[11] *Las Obras de George de Montemayor, repartidas en dos libros, etc.*, Anvers, MDLIIII, fol 35v. Montemayor resided in Seville some time between 1543 and 1552. See *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*, by Hugo A. Rennert, Philadelphia, 1912, p. 27.

[12] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, pp. LIX–LX.

Damón." Pacheco asserts[13] that Alcázar and Cetina (compatriots of Seville) were in close touch with each other upon the subject of their writings, and Sr. Rodríguez Marín further confirms the reality of their friendship, proving that the *epístola* to which Cetina replies, *Obras* II, pp. 125–140, and in which the author relates "la vida miserable del aldea," is not the work of an unknown Baltasar de León, as Sr. Hazañas supposes, but that it is in reality from the hand of Baltasar del Alcázar.[14]

Cetina wrote no less than ten sonnets and an epistle to D. Luis de Leiva, the second Prince of Ascoli, who fought in Italy under the Marquis of Vasto and Fernando Gonzaga, later in the Netherlands and France, and died at the age of thirty-eight at the siege of Ham in 1557.[15] It is interesting to note that two of these sonnets (Numbers XVII and LXIX) were apparently composed on the occasion of the death of the prince's father, D. Antonio de Leiva (September 13, 1536) when Cetina could not have been more than eighteen years of age, and that they are probably, therefore, among his very earliest productions.

Sonnet CXLVIII was addressed to the emperor himself, sonnets XXXI and CXCI to the Duke of Sessa, Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, sonnet CXXXIV to the Count of Feria, and sonnet CLXXXVIII to the Duke of Alba. This is to mention only the more prominent names of Spanish notables whom Cetina addressed in verse. Other less significant ones are: D. Jerónimo de Urrea, soldier and poet (Cetina's *epístola* V being an answer to one received from Urrea); Luis de Cotes, Bishop of Cività and Ampurias in Sardinia; D. Juan de Rojas Sarmiento; and the abbot Gualbes, probably the same whom Boscán mentions in his *Octava Rima*.[16]

The María de Mendoza of Cetina's fifth madrigal, beginning *Yo cantaría de vos si altamente*, was probably either María de Mendoza Sarmiento, Countess of Rivadavia and wife of Fran-

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[13] *Ibid.*, p. LIX.

[14] *Poesías varias de Baltasar del Alcázar*, ed. F. Rodríguez Marín, Madrid, 1910, p. XXII. The *epístola* in question is found on pages 173–180.

[15] See the review of the *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina* (edited by Hazañas y la Rúa) by A. Morel-Fatio, in the *Revue Critique*, Vol. XLII, 1896, p. 134.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 135 and 136.

cisco de los Cobos, favorite of Charles V, or the daughter of that lady, María de Sarmiento Mendoza, who married the Duke of Sessa.[17]

Cetina's friends and acquaintances in Italy were hardly less numerous, and not less renowned than those of his own country. He addressed his sonnet XIV to Alfonso di Avalos, Marquis of Vasto, son of the Marquis of Pescara, and intimate friend of Garcilaso and other Castilian poets. Sonnet LVI extols the charms of the Marchioness of Vasto. Another (CXXIX) laments the death of the beautiful and ill-starred Marina de Aragón (who died not later than 1549), daughter of Alonso de Aragón y Gurrea, fifth Count of Ribagorza. This celebrated lady, whose brief life possesses a singular and pathetic interest, was admired and praised by many poets, notably Hurtado de Mendoza and Tansillo.[18]

Another lady whose beauty and high station were sung by Tansillo and other poets, also received the tributes of Cetina. This was Isabella di Capua, Princess of Molfetta, daughter of Fernando di Capua, Duke of Termoli and Prince of Molfetta, who married in 1533 Fernando Gonzaga. The latter, son of the Marquis of Mantua, was one of the principal captains of Charles V, and commanded at the assault of Duren, which Cetina witnessed, and which he described as already stated. Cetina addressed to the Princess of Molfetta two sonnets (XXX and XXXIV) and two *epístolas* (VI and IX). In the first of the *epístolas* he confides to her his passion for the Countess Laura Gonzaga, whom he symbolizes in the poem by "lauro"[19] in contrast with "olmo," the symbol of a former love of nine or ten years duration; and the second, written in a bantering tone, requests of the princess the preparation of an *olla podrida*

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[17] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

[18] See Morel-Fatio, *Doña Marina de Aragón* (1523–1549), in *Etudes sur l'Espagne*, troisième série, Paris, 1904, pp. 75ff.

[19] The use of "lauro" is significant also in the *Epístola* XII to the Prince of Ascoli, as is likewise that of "laureado" in verse 19 of the same poem (*Ya no pretendo más ser laureado*). D. Francisco A.de Icaza, in his *Sucesos reales que parecen imaginados*, etc. (see note 10), pp. 59-66, indulges in speculations on the character of this passion, and as to whether it was reciprocated or called forth only coquetry in response. He thinks that certain of the poet's verses, such as the sonnet beginning *El dulce fruto en la cobarde mano*, may have had reference to this noble lady.

to welcome his coming. The ingredients which he recommends for it give occasion for the mention of persons in the "entourage" of the princess, for each of whom he has some humorous remark. Only the Countess Laura Gonzaga, for whom Cetina appears to have felt a genuine passion, is here treated with respectful consideration.

Cetina knew also the Marchioness of Padula, Mara di Cardona, celebrated as poetess and musician. She is for him, in the sonnet *Ilustre honor del nombre de Cardona*,[20] not the tenth muse, but the first,

> "No décima a las nueve de Parnaso,
> Mas la primera del oriente a ocaso,
> A quien rara beldad honra y corona."

It is possible that other investigators who have access to Italian archives may be able to furnish new material for Cetina's biography by the study of the society of Naples and Milan in which the poet moved. Such a study might furnish new facts concerning the place occupied by the poet in his foreign environment, and also perhaps concerning the friendships which he formed, and which may have affected his literary work. The present writer has been unable to make such a study, and has been obliged to limit himself to the evidence found in Cetina's works of the influence of the Italian poets whom he knew, either personally or by reputation.

Unfortunately we have no information concerning the Italian poets whom Cetina may have known during his residence in Italy. The studies that have already been made of the sources of his verses show that he read with pleasure the works of Petrarch, and he must have read eagerly the compositions of the Italian poets who were enjoying popularity during the time of his sojourn in their country. Chief among the latter was Luigi Tansillo, to whom Cetina seems to have felt a spiritual kinship, and whose works, as will be seen later, furnished to Cetina inspiration for a number of poems.

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[20] This composition is evidently a sort of counterfeit of Garcilaso's sonnet to the same lady, which also begins *Ilustre honor del nombre de Cardona.* See *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, pp. 106 and 107, note.

The works of Gutierre de Cetina shared the fate of those of many of his contemporaries, and no composition from his hand was published during his lifetime. A small number of his poems were published in 1774–1778 in Vol. 7 of the *Parnaso Español* of López de Sedano, and additional compositions were printed in 1854 by Adolfo de Castro in Vol. I of the *Líricos de los siglos XVI y XVII* in the *Biblioteca de autores espanõles*, pp. 40–50. A somewhat larger collection appeared later (1866) in Vol. II of Gallardo's *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de libros raros y curiosos*, cols. 410–448.

II

Previous Studies on the Italian and Catalan Sources of the Verses of Gutierre de Cetina

In his two volume edition entitled *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, published in 1895, Sr. Hazañas y la Rúa attempted to collect from all sources the extant verses of Cetina.

The compositions assembled in these volumes comprise two hundred and forty-four sonnets,[1] five madrigals, seventeen *epístolas*, eleven *canciones*, nine poems in *estancias* or *octavas*, two *capítulos*, a *sextina*, an *elegía*, an *oda*, an *anacreóntica*, and two selections in prose.

Cetina's authorship of one of the prose compositions, the *Paradoja en alabanza de los cuernos*,[2] has been questioned.[3] With respect to the other, the *Diálogo entre la cabeza y la gorra*,[4] the authorship of Cetina has not been disputed, but at all events it is merely a translation of Pandolfo Collenuccio's *Il Filotimo*, *Dialogo fra la testa e la berretta*, composed toward the end of the fifteenth century. Collenuccio is well known for an early translation of the *Menœchmi*, and for his *Commedia di Jacob e di Josef* and other works. He died in 1504 while a prisoner of Giovanni Sforza, tyrant of Pesaro.

With regard to Cetina's poetical works, the graceful little *anacreóntica*[5] has about it an air of freshness and originality, and the *oda*[6] is, so far as we know, in all probability Cetina's original work. The source of the *elegía*,[7] however, *Si aquel dolor que da a sentir la muerte*, has been discovered by Signor

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[1] One of these sonnets must be excluded as belonging to Hernando de Acuña. It is the sonnet LXIII, beginning: *Cuando la alegre y dulce primavera.* See J. P. W. Crawford, *Notes on the poetry of Hernando de Acuña*, in *Romanic Review*, Vol. VII, 1916, p. 315.

[2] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. II, pp. 207–239.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. LXXVI.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 163–206.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 296.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 293–295.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 145–152.

Eugenio Mele[8] in Tansillo's *Se quel dolor che va innanzi al morire.*[9]

Signor Paolo Savj-Lopez states[10] that the *sextina* of our poet, *Tantas estrellas no nos muestra el cielo,*[11] has as its source of inspiration Petrarch's *sestina, Non ha tanti animali il mar fra l'onde,* but although it is reasonably certain that such is the case, there is little essential connection between the thoughts developed in the two poems.

One of the *capítulos, Diga quien diga, y quien alaba alabe,*[12] is an amplification of Ariosto's *elegia, Piaccia a cui piace, e chi lodar vuol lodi.*[13]

Two of the nine compositions in *octavas* or *estancias*[14] are glosses of verses of Petrarch,[15] and another[16] bears the caption: *Traducción de una estancia toscana*" (which has not been identified).

The following Italian sources of two of the *canciones* have been discovered: *Canción* II, *Animal venturoso,*[17] a free adaptation of Tansillo's *Quel vago animaletto*[18]; and *canción* V, *Cuando la noche en el partir del día,*[19] a translation, in the same number of verses as the original, of Ariosto's *Quando'l sol parte, e l'ombra il mondo cuopre.* Only the names of four of the six interlocutors in this Italian pastoral *canzone* are changed, Selvago, Fausto, Nisa and Ginebra appearing respectively as Vandalio (Cetina's

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[8] E. Mele, *Revista crítica de historia y literatura española, portuguesa e hispano-americana* Vol. I, 1896, p. 267.

[9] *Poesie Liriche edite ed inedite di Luigi Tansillo, con prefazione e note di F. Fiorentino,* Napoli, 1882, pp. 167–169.

Cetina's *elegía* was observed by Hazañas y la Rúa to have such analogies with that of Acuña, *Si el dolor de la muerte es tan crecido,* and with the *epístola* of Hurtado de Mendoza, *Si el dolor de morir es tan crecido,* that he himself suspected that all were from a common original.

Tansillo's poem in *terzine* has 70 verses; Cetina's *elegía,* 61.

[10] P. Savj-Lopez, *Un Petrarchista Spagnuolo,* Trani, 1896. The writer has been unable to find a copy of this little 20-page monograph, apparently was published in the *Rassegna pugliese,* anno XII, fasc. 9. (See *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.* XXII, 1898, p. 498). Its contents have been made known through a review by E. Mele, *Revista crítica,* etc., Vol. I, 1896, pp. 265–267.

[11] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina,* Vol. I, pp. 290–292.

[12] *Ibid.,* Vol. II, pp. 153–156.

[13] E. Mele, *Revista crítica,* etc., Vol. I, 1896, p. 266.

[14] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina,* Vol. I, p. 287.

[15] The first of these *estancias* incorporates for its last line *Ma contrastar non posso al gran disio,* which is the third verse of the second stanza of Petrarch's *canzone* VIII, *Perchè la vita è breve.* The second *estancia* has as its last verse Petrarch's popular line *Chi vuol veder quanto può Natura,* the first verse of one of his sonnets.

[16] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina,* Vol. I, p. 274.

[17] *Ibid.,* Vol. I, pp. 218–221.

[18] For Tansillo's poem, see Fiorentino's edition, pp. 155–159.

[19] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina,* Vol. I, pp. 232–239.

poetic name, signifying *the Andalusian*), Elpin, Dórida, the poet's earlier love, and Amaríllida, who supplanted Dórida in his affections.

The seventeen *epístolas* ascribed to Cetina are all in *tercetos*, except one addressed to the Princess of Molfetta,[20] which is in *versos sueltos*. The *Epístola de Dido a Eneas*[21] has been ascribed also to Hernando de Acuña and to Diego Hurtado de Mendoza.[22] This is a translation of the seventh *Heroida* of Ovid, and its two companion *epístolas*, *Filis a Demofón*[23] and *Penélope a Ulises*,[24] are translations from Numbers II and I of the *Heroides*. One *epístola*, *La Pulga*,[25] has been by some attributed to Mendoza.[26] It is not an original composition, but an imitation of the *Capitolo del Pulice* of the Venetian poet, Lodovico Dolce.[27] The eighth *epístola*, *En alabanza de la cola o rabo*,[28] has been attributed likewise to Mendoza.[29] Like its prose companion, the *Paradoja en alabanza de los cuernos*, already referred to, it is totally different in tone and substance from the works definitely known to be Cetina's, which are throughout notably free from blemishes of vulgarity or indecency.

Number II of the madrigals[30] of Cetina was inspired by certain verses of Auzias March in his *cant d'amor* LXIX, *Clar es e molt a tots los amadors*,[31] and the fifth[32] is a direct transla-

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[20] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 79–84.
[21] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 15–30.
[22] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 15–16, note.
[23] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 58–68.
[24] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 117–124.
[25] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 89–98.
[26] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 89, note. See also Foulché-Delbosc, *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, in the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXXII, 1914, p. 42.
[27] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. II, p. 89, note, and Vol. I, p. LXXXIII. See also Foulché-Delbosc, *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXXII, p. 42.
[28] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. II, pp. 68–79.
[29] Foulché-Delbosc, *Les œuvres attribuées à Mendoza*, in the *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 38–40, and *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. II, p. 68, note.
[30] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, pp. 4–5.
[31] This fact is noted by Amédée Pagès in his work entitled *Ausias March et ses prédécesseurs*, Paris, 1912, p. 417. M. Pagès, the foremost authority on the life and works of Auzias March, does not appear to have known Hazañas y la Rúa's edition of the *Obras* of Cetina. He makes independent mention of the two sonnets (XXXVII and XC) shown by Hazañas y la Rúa to be from March, and refers, for the text of Cetina's poetry, to Gallardo.
[32] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, pp. 7–8.

tion of Tansillo's madrigal: *Io canteria di voi sì lungamente.*[33] The remaining three, including the renowned *Ojos claros, serenos*, are apparently Cetina's own creations.

Sr. Hazañas did not attempt to make a chronological classification of Cetina's sonnets, which constitute the largest and most important part of the poet's work,[34] and contented himself with arranging them in alphabetical order in accordance with the opening words of the initial lines. This method of procedure seems justifiable, because only in a few cases can the dates of these compositions be established or even conjectured. The sonnets which refer to Dórida are clearly earlier than the sonnets, the epistles, and the *canción* in which the poet gives expression to his more spiritual love for Amaríllida. But in only three sonnets is Dórida mentioned, and in only four Amaríllida, and so this clue as to relative dates of appearance is too slight to be of much importance in the chronological classification of the sonnets.

The sources of twenty of them were definitely known before the present study was undertaken. Sr. Hazañas has indicated: (1) that sonnets VIII, XLII, and CXLIV (*Amor, fortuna, y la memoria esquiva, Como la simplecilla mariposa*, and *Ni por el cielo ver correr estrellas*) are imitations of the well-known sonnets of Petrarch: *Amor, fortuna, e la mia mente schiva, Come talora al caldo tempo sole*, and *Nè per sereno ciel ir vaghe stelle*; (2) that sonnets CII, CLXXX, and CCXX (*Escrito aunque imposible al fin parece, Querría saber, amantes, cómo es hecha*, and *Sobre las ondas del helado Ibero*) have as rubrics respectively: "Sobre un verso de Ovidio,"[35] "Traducción de

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[33] See E. Mele's review of Savj-Lopez, *Un Petrarchista Spagnuolo*, in *Revista crítica*, etc., Vol. I, 1896, pp. 265–267.

Tansillo's poem may be read in Fiorentino's edition of that poet's work, p. 159. It is, in its turn, inspired by Petrarch's sonnet *Io canterei d'Amor si novamente.*

[34] Sr. F. A. de Icaza assumes (*Sucesos reales que parecen imaginados*, etc., p. 57) that the sonnets, as indeed all of Cetina's compositions that have been preserved, were written before his departure for Mexico in 1546, and that he therefore composed them between the ages of approximately eighteen and twenty-six. If this is true, the fact would serve to explain their spontaneity and freshness, but would render all the more remarkable Cetina's masterly skill in handling the sonnet form.

[35] "Fit quoque longus amor quem diffidentia nutrit," *Remedia amoris*, V. 543. M. Morel-Fatio, not Sr. Hazañas, gives the correct passage and its place in the works of Ovid. See *Revue Critique*, Vol. XLII, 1896, p. 133.

un soneto toscano,"[36] and Traducción de un epigrama latino"[37]; (3) that Number CVIII, *Excelso monte do el romano estrago*, is a translation of the much admired and often translated sonnet of Castiglione, *Superbi colli, e voi, sacre ruine*[38]; and (4) that sonnets XXXVII and XC (*Como enfermo a quien ya médico cierto*, and *El tiempo es tal que cualquier fiera agora*) are translations from verses of Numbers LIX and LXIV of the *cants d'amor* of Auzias March.[39]

Signor Savj-Lopez[40] found the sources of sonnets CCXIX and CCXXXII (*Si vos pensáis que por un ceño airado*, and *Triste avecilla que te vas quejando*) in two of Petrarch; namely, *Se voi potesti per turbati segni*, and *Vago augeletto che cantando vai*. His most important contribution to our subject, however, consists in his discovery of the very considerable influence upon Cetina's verse of the poetry of Tansillo. He showed that to this popular Italian Petrarchist, with Bembo and Dolce almost as highly esteemed by contemporary Spain as even the

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[36] This sonnet has not been identified. It was imitated also by Hernando de Acuña in his sonnet *Dígame quien lo sabe cómo es hecha*. See *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, p. 161, note.

[37] M. Morel-Fatio refers us (*Revue Critique*, XLII, p. 133) for this epigram to No. 709 of Riese's *Anthologia Latina*. It is entitled *De puero glacie perempto*, and has been ascribed both to Germanicus Caesar and to Julius Caesar. Its author may in turn have been indebted to an epigram in Greek on the same subject by Flaccus (*Anth. Pal.*, VII, 542).

A little boy playing on the frozen Ebro, breaks through the ice. His body is carried out to sea, while the head, severed by the sharp crust of the ice, remains upon the surface where he fell. Here the mother finds it.

'Hoc peperi flammis, cetera' dixit 'aquis.
Me miseram! plus amnis habet solumque reliquit,
Quo nati mater nosceret interitum.'

Cetina appears not to have caught the spirit of the Latin when he translated these lines, for the last tercet of the least pleasing of all his sonnets:

"¡ Ay, crüel hado -dijo- extraño y ciego!
Pues de lo que parí no me tocaba
Más parte que ésta, ésta consuma el fuego."

It is a singular coincidence that this Latin epigram is reproduced, with slight variations following one of the extant manuscripts, in the *Primera Crónica General* of Alfonso el Sabio, where it is ascribed to Julius Caesar, and included to exemplify the latter's skill in versification. (See *Alfonso X El Sabio*; *Prólogo, Selección y Glosarios* de Antonio G. Solalinde, Madrid, 1922, Vol. I, p. 151.)

[38] For the history of this sonnet, as revealed in its imitations and translations by other poets, see Foulché-Delbosc, *Notes sur le sonnet Superbi Colli*, in *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XI, 1904, pp. 225–243; and Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *Investigações sobre sonetos e sonetistas portugueses e castelhanos*, in *Revue Hispanique*, Vol. XXII, 1910, pp. 585–587.

[39] All citations from March will be included later.

[40] See E. Mele's review of Savj-Lopez, *Un Petrarchista Spagnuolo*, in *Revista crítica*, etc., Vol. I, 1896, pp. 265–267.

great master himself, was due the inspiration of not less than five of Cetina's sonnets, as follows: Tansillo, *Amor m'impenna l'ale, e tanto en alto*—Cetina, XI, *Amor mueve mis alas y tan alto*; Tansillo, *Quel nodo ch'io pensai che fosse sciolto*—Cetina, XV, *Aquel nudo que ya debía ser suelto*; Tansillo, *Qual rapida procella si repente*—Cetina, LVII, *Cuál fiera tempestad, cuál accidente*; Tansillo, *Simile al oceano quando più freme*—Cetina, CX, *Golfo de mar con gran fortuna airado*; Tansillo, *Cantai, or piango, e se nel duro petto*—Cetina, CXXVIII, *Llorando vivo, y si en el fiero pecho.*

Following Savj-Lopez, in a review of his monograph, *Un Petrarchista Spagnuolo*, Signor Eugenio Mele made additional contributions to the subject of the origins of Cetina's sonnets,[41] calling attention to the fact that sonnet CLVI, (!) *Oh pasos tan sin fruto derramados!*, translates one of Petrarch, *O passi sparsi, o pensier vaghi e pronti*, and sonnet CCIII, *Si es verdad como está determinado*, the little seven-line *scherzo* of Tansillo, *Se è ver quel che si legge.*[42] He also remarked that the Italian verse (*Intendame chi può che m'intend' io*) which serves as the last line of Cetina's sonnet IV, is the seventeenth verse of the eleventh *canzone* of Petrarch.[43]

Two sonnet contributions to Cetina from Auzias March, in addition to those already mentioned by Hazañas y la Rúa, were added by Pagès in his work already referred to.[44] These will be included in full in a later part of this study.

Finally, it remains to be observed in connection with sources previously discovered by others, that there has been brought to light a translation by Cetina of a sonnet of Giovanni Mozzarelli, *Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte.*[45] Here the poets com-

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[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 266–267.

[42] Edition of Fiorentino, p. 154.

[43] There is no connection between the two compositions other than the utilization of this one verse, and the general obscurity of both poems, due in the case of the *canzone* to an excess of rhyme difficulties. The writer found the same single line in a sonnet of Varchi, *Ben mi parea veder certo. ch'al mio* (*Opere di Benedetto Varchi*, Trieste, 1859, Vol. II, p. 893); and in a two-page poem in *terzine* of Emilio Emilii, *Rime di diversi eccellenti autori bresciani nuovamente raccolte e mandate in luce da G. Ruscelli*, Venezia, 1554.

[44] *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, Paris, 1912, p. 417.

[45] See Morel-Fatio, in his review of the *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, in the *Revue Critique*, Vol. XLII, 1896, p. 132. This sonnet was imitated, as M. Morel-Fatio observes, by Desportes, and it also inspired a sonnet by Hernando de Acuña. (See J. P. W. Crawford, *Two Spanish imitations of an Italian sonnet*, in *Modern Language Notes*, Baltimore, 1916, pp. 122–123.)

pare the cruel indifference of their mistresses to the joy of Nero in the spectacle of his burning capital. The Spanish sonnet is Number CXXXI of the *Obras*, *Mientra con gran temor por cada parte*.[46]

Cetina's borrowings, then, as far as they have been studied hitherto, and excluding the thirty-three pages of translations from the *Heroides* of Ovid, consist of the materials or the suggestions for twenty sonnets, two *canciones*, two madrigals, two *estancias*, one *capítulo* and one *sextina*. Tansillo appears as the source of inspiration for 246 verses, Ariosto for 193, Petrarch for 169, and Auzias March for 87.

These four names have been of paramount importance in previous studies of literary influence upon Cetina, although it should be observed in the case of Petrarch that only three of Cetina's compositions (sonnets VIII, CLVI, and CCXIX) are in the nature of translations from his work, and that the others that may be spoken of as inspired by Petrarch are free imitations, or simply reminiscent of certain of that poet's verses.

The efforts of the present writer have not seriously affected the foregoing numerical ratios of influence of the three Italian poets on the work of Cetina, but they have, on the other hand, enabled him to present substantial evidences that the influence of March upon that work was actually greater than that of the other three poets combined.

In order that this predominating influence of the Catalan may be clearly established and adequately appreciated, it is important to complete, as far as possible, the record of Cetina's borrowings from the Italians, and to do this, as thoroughly as the facilities of the writer have permitted, is the purpose of the following chapter.

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[46] M. Morel-Fatio reads *terror* for *temor* in this verse.

III

Further Influence of Italian Petrarchists Upon Cetina's Poetry

We have seen in the preceding chapter that Cetina was inspired to a relatively slight extent by Petrarch, and to a much greater degree by Tansillo and Ariosto. It has likewise been observed that Castiglione, so much admired by Boscán and Garcilaso, was also imitated by Cetina. Specific cases of common sources of inspiration in Italian for Cetina and the more prominent contemporary poets of Spain,[1] were noted in Tansillo's elegy, *Si quel dolor che va innanzi al morire*, which Hurtado de Mendoza, Hernando de Acuña, and Cetina all translated; in Mozzarelli's sonnet, *Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte*, translated by Acuña and Cetina; and in an unidentified Italian sonnet, translated, according to his own confession, by Cetina, and either translated or closely imitated by Acuña.[2]

The discoveries of his imitations in Italian verse forms hitherto mentioned do not reveal for Cetina a poetic personality markedly different from that of Mendoza and Acuña. Like them, it would appear from previous studies, he derived inspiration from such Italian verse as appealed to his fancy, and wrote poetry for the pleasure of its composition, or from a desire to express in conventional fashion sentiments of love for Dórida and Amaríllida. Had he been born earlier, he might have been an innovator in the use of Italian measures, but Boscán and Garcilaso were already famous for their *sonetos*, their *canciones de estancia larga*, and their *tercetos*, *octavas*, and *versos sueltos*,

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[1] In connection with common sources of inspiration for Cetina and his Spanish contemporaries might be mentioned the former's sonnet CXXIV, *Leandro que de amor en fuego ardía*, embodying Leander's dying appeal to the vindictive waters, and his companion sonnet XLVII, *Con aquel recelar que amor nos muestra*, dealing with Hero's despair at sight of her dead lover. The first of these has numerous counterparts in sixteenth century Spain (See Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Vol. XIII, pp. 361–379), and the matter of the second was treated by Hernando de Acuña in a sonnet beginning: *De la alta torre al mar Hero miraba*. (*Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, p. 48, note.)

[2] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, p. 161, note.

when Cetina was writing to Mendoza: "Yo que a volar he comenzado apena." He, therefore, merely followed their example, and, like Mendoza and Acuña, utilized their metrical innovations, already acclimatized and firmly rooted in the friendly soil of Spain.

Such are the natural inferences to be drawn from former studies of Cetina's Italian sources. Let us now see what additions can be made to the estimate of Italian influences upon our poet, with a view to determining whether or not any modification is necessary regarding opinions hitherto held concerning the Italian sources of his work.

Signor Mele's assertion[3] that it would be easy to discover among Cetina's verses twice as many cases of imitation and translation of Italian Petrarchists as have heretofore been found, has not been verified by the results of the readings of the present writer in those "frías, monótonas, y extenuadas poesías de los cancioneros del siglo XVI."[4] He has discovered there, however, the apparently certain sources of nine additional sonnets, and the probable origin of at least four others.

Five of the proved sources are to be found in the anthology entitled: *Rime diverse di molti eccellentissimi auttori nuovamente raccolte*,[5] and if Cetina really met with them there, they are quite impartially chosen, since no two of them are the work of a single author. The first to be cited is a sonnet by Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo[6]:

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[3] *Revista crítica*, etc., Madrid, 1896, p. 267.

[4] Good facilities for this study are to be found in the library of the University of Pennsylvania which is rich in volumes of Italian poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both in the works of individual authors and in rare anthologies.

[5] It is well known that this collection, made by Lodovico Domenichi, was drawn upon by all the poets of the Pléiade, and it is not surprising that it was utilized, at least to this comparatively slight extent, by Cetina. The writer has had in hand the edition of 1546, which contains some additions and some suppressions compared with the original one of 1545. Probably Cetina read here also Mozzarelli's sonnet, *Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte*, which, as has been already stated, both he and Acuña translated.

[6] Gesualdo (d. about 1545) had the reputation of being a cultured and pleasing "rimatore," and his comments on the *canzoniere* of Petrarch attracted favorable attention in his day.

O viva fiamma, o miei sospiri ardenti,
O miserabil duol, o spirti lassi,
O pensier d'ogni speme ignudi e cassi,
O strali nel mio cor fieri e pungenti;
O bei desir de l'honorate menti,
O vane imprese, o dolorosi passi,
O selve, o piaggie, o fonti, o fiumi, o sassi,
O spietata cagion de miei tormenti:
O gloriosi allori, o verdi mirti,
O luogo un tempo a me dolce e giocondo,
Ove io già sparsi dilettoso canto;
O voi, leggiadri ed amorosi spirti,
S'alcun vive qua giù nel basso mondo,
Pietà vi prenda del mio acerbo pianto.[1]

Cetina's series of laments corresponds rather closely throughout to the above. He experiences the same burning pains, the same feelings of weariness, the same sentiment of the futility of his aspirations. The memory of past joys afflicts him doubly in the midst of present griefs, and in his extremity he summons the bright and happy spirits of love, if such there be, to hear his story and condole with him.

Sonnet XXIV:

¡Ay, vivo fuego! ¡Ay, fiero pensamiento!
¡Ay, rabioso dolor, pasos cansados!
¡Ay, recelos de amor desesperados!
¡Ay, triste, congojoso sentimiento!
¡Ay, alto desear sin fundamento!
¡Ay, vana empresa, llena de cuidados!
¡Ay, ríos, fuentes, selvas, bosques, prados!
¡Ay, esquiva ocasión de mi tormento!
¡Ay, verdes huertas, árboles hermosos!
¡Ay, lugar que ya fué ledo y jocundo,
Do gastaba mi tiempo en dulce canto!
Espíritus alegres y amorosos:
Si alguno vive acá en el bajo mundo,
Muévaos hora a piedad mi triste llanto.

Another sonnet of Cetina is derived from one by Francesco

[1] *Rime Diverse*, etc., ed. 1546, p. 32.

Coccio[8] included in the same volume. Here the poet, overwhelmed by the scornful and disdainful attitude of his mistress compares his state to that of a fragile boat at the mercy of the ocean's wind and waves. *His* sea is of tears, and the winds are his sighs. The cargo is grief. Disdain is at the helm and fury in the sails. The very sky above him is unpropitious, like the elements, and only the God of Love can save him from cruel death. The Italian sonnet is as follows:

Deh porgi mano a la mia fragil barca
Amor, che combattuta dagli orgogli
De la mia donna, fra i più duri scogli
De la sua crudeltà solcando varca:
Et da tal doglia è governata e carca
D'un tal pensier, che s'ambedui non togli:
In van m'agghiacci, accendi, leghi e sciogli,
Che vuol morte del legno esser monarca.
Sdegno regge il timon, furor la vela,
Travaglio i remi, e gelosia le sarte,
Le lagrime fanno onde, e i sospiri venti.
Oscuro nembo di superbia cela
Sua stella, e solo scorge in ogni parte
Pene, affanni, martir, fiamme, et tormenti.[9]

Cetina translated it faithfully, line by line. Sonnet CCX:

Si no socorre Amor la frágil nave,
Combatida de vientos orgullosos,
Que entre bravos peñascos peligrosos
La hace entrar un fresco aire süave,
Tal carga de dolor lleva y tan grave
De pensamientos tristes, congojosos,
Que no pueden durar tan enojosos
Días, sin que el morir me desagrave.
Desdén rige el timón, furor la vela,

[8] Coccio is also known for his translation of Achilles Tatius' romance of Clitophon and Leucippe, which was printed in Venice in 1560, 1563, and 1568, and in Florence in 1598 and 1599, with the title: *Achille Tatio dell'amore di Clitofonte & Leucippe tradott. di lingua greca in Toscana da Fr. Angelo Coccio.* See Lenglet du Fresnoy's *Bibliothèque des Romans*, Vol. II, p. 7.

[9] *Rime Diverse*, ed. 1546, p. 356.

Trabajo el mástil y la escota el celo;
Lágrimas hacen mar, suspiros, vientos.
Nublado obscuro, la soberbia cela
El norte mío, y sólo veo en el cielo
Pena, dolor, afán, rabia y tormentos.

Trifone Gabriele[10] furnished the suggestion, and some of the wording, for another of Cetina's sonnets. The composition of the Italian poet, appearing in the *Rime Diverse*,[11] has for its theme one that was very popular among the followers of Petrarch, namely, the return in a dream of the spirit of the departed lady to give to the lover consolation, which soon turns to despair.

Gabriele:

Tornava a ristorare il novo giorno
La bella aurora; quando a gli occhi miei
Si pose inanzi per mio duol colei,
Che nel mio cor farà sempre soggiorno:
A farti del tuo mal qui certo torno,
Dicea piangendo, che miei pochi, e rei
Dì spento ha morte, e'n un punto perdei
Quante bellezze già mi furo intorno.
E quest' è l'ombra mia, che qui t'assale
Invece del bel corpo, che giù in terra
Senz' haver spirto in sè freddo lasciai.
Torna, misero amante, torna hormai:
Che senza questo don non stia sotterra
A lagrimar di me, quanto ti cale.

Cetina addressed with this borrowed material the Prince of Ascoli, D. Luis de Leiva, in one of the ten sonnets which he directed to that nobleman. Instead of the shade of a dead mistress, however, it is apparently the spirit of the prince's father (Antonio de Leiva, d. 1536) whom Cetina conjures up for the consolation and inspiration of the son. The Spanish sonnet offers more hope and comfort than its original.

Cetina (XVII):

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[10] Gabriele (1470–1549) was of a noble Venetian family, celebrated for his learning, and much admired and respected by the best contemporary men of letters.

[11] Ed. 1546, p. 205.

A restaurar tornaba el nuevo día
La aurora, cuando el sueño le mostraba
Al pastor principal que nos guardaba
La imagen que ya muerta en él vivía.
Diciendo, aparte, que del alma mía
Fuiste la que viviendo más amaba,
Del reino que en el trino acá esperaba
(Por consolarte) el señor dél me envía.
Cesen, pues, ya las lágrimas y el luto:
¿A qué sirve llamarme, si mi suerte
Pasó de grande a muy mayor estado?
Alégrate, pastor, y con el fruto
Del árbol mío, que cortó la muerte,
Consuela a ti y al español ganado.

In the same collection (*Rime Diverse*, ed. 1546)[12] occurs Bembo's sonnet in which he compares his mistress to Venus, Minerva, and Juno[13]:

Se stata foste voi nel colle Ideo
Tra le dive, che Pari a mirar hebbe;
Venere gita lieta non sarebbe
Del pregio, per cui Troia arse et cadeo.
Et se 'l mondo v'havea con quei, che feo
L'opra leggiadra, ond' Arno e Sorga crebbe;
Et egli a voi lo stil girato havrebbe,
Ch' eterna vita dar altrui poteo.
Hor sete giunta a le mie basse rime,
Povera vena, et suono humile a lato
Beltà si ricca, e ingegno si sublime.
Tacer devrei; ma chi nel manco lato
Mi sta, la man si dolce al cor' imprime;
Che per membrar del vostro oblio il mio stato.

Cetina adapts the first quatrain of the above rather freely for the two quatrains of his sonnet CXXI, in order to make more adequate his expressions of admiration for the beauty

[12] P. 10.

[13] Varchi treats the same theme in his sonnet *Quando'l pastor di Troia nel colle Ideo* (*Opere*, 1555, p. 98), as does also Della Casa in his sonnet *La bella Greca, onde 'l pastor Ideo* (*Parnaso Italiano*, Vol. XII, 1851, col. 1978.)

of the Countess Laura Gonzaga. Instead of following Bemb however, in reference to Petrarch and insistence upon his own humility, he concludes his sonnet in the same strain as he began it, adding to the list of beautiful women outrivalled by his mistress Helen of Troy, as painted by Zeuxis for the temple of Juno.

Sonnet CXXI:

Laura, si cuando en la gran selva Idea
Hizo el juicio aquel pastor troyano
Donde a Venus fué dado el soberano
Premio, a pesar de la una y otra dea,
Fuérades vos, ante vos fuera fea
La más hermosa, y presumiera en vano
Haber lo que es tan vuestro y que tan llano
Confesará cualquier dama que os vea.
Si Zeúsis de vos sola tomara
Cuanto bueno entre mil tomar pudiera,
Cuando en Croton la bella imagen hizo,
Más gracia, más verdad, más ser mostrara
Y a Juno más perfecta pareciera:
¡Tanto el cielo de vos se satisfizo!

Mention has been made of a translation by Cetina of Castiglione's sonnet *Superbi Colli*. Another sonnet of the same author, published in the *Rime Diverse* of 1546,[14] also attracted the attention of the Spanish poet. Its theme is the familiar one, among Petrarchists as among other poets, of the bitterness of a present condition contrasting with the hope and gladness of the past. Dark fear has taken possession of the soul, threatening to make its pain eternal, and even if the old joy renascent returns, so much of the poison of inner grief remains that the song commenced is soon interrupted and broken with sighs and tears.

Castiglione:

Cantai, mentre nel cor lieto fioria
De' soavi pensier l'alma mia spene:
Hor ch' ella manca, e ogn' hor crescon le pene,

[14] P. 193.

Conversa è a lamentar la doglia mia.
Che'l cor, ch' ai dolci accenti aprir la via
Solea, senza esperanza homai diviene
D'amaro tosco albergo, onde conviene
Che ciò ch' indi deriva, amaro sia.
Così un fosco pensier l'alma ha in governo,
Che col freddo timor dì e notte a canto,
Di far minaccia il suo dolor eterno.
Però s'io provo aver l'antico canto,
Tinta la voce dal veneno interno,
Esce in rotti sospiri, e duro pianto.

Cetina translated the above as follows (sonnet CXXXV):

Mientra en mí la esperanza florecía,
Alegre el corazón vivió cantando;
Mas hora que el temor la va secando,
Paso el tiempo en llorar la pena mía.
Entonces de un pensar dulce vivía;
Hora en pesar y en más pesar pensando,
En amargo dolor va transformando
Cuanto antes dentro dél de dulce había.
Ha tomado del alma mía gobierno
Un triste recelar, que con espanto
Amenaza hacer mi mal eterno.
Por lo cual, si tal vez en dulce canto
Me pruebo, sale del dolor interno
Interrota la voz y envuelta en llanto.

Cetina has, therefore, translated, not altogether slavishly, two sonnets by Castiglione. The following sonnet, also the work of the same illustrious Italian, describing the signs by which love may be recognized in the lover's countenance and conduct, seems to have suggested to Cetina his sonnet on the same subject:

Se al veder nel mio volto or fiamma ardente,
Or giù dagli occhi miei correr un fiume;
E come or ghiaccio, or foco mi consume
Mentre ch' io sono a voi, donna, presente:
Se al mirar fisso con le luci intente
Sempre de' bei vostri occhi il dolce lume;

Se al mio di sospirar lungo costume;
Se al parlar rotto, e vaneggiar sovente;
Se al tornar spesso, ond' io spesso mi muovo,
Perch' altri non conosca il pensier mio;
Se al dolor, che da voi partendo i' provo;
Se agli occhi, ove si sa quel ch' io desio,
Voi non vedete il stato, ov' io mi trovo,
Qual mercede da voi sperar poss' io?[15]

There is certainly much similarity to this in conception and development in Cetina's sonnet CCI:

Si el mudarse el color, si el alterarme,
Si el súbito alegrar y entristecerme,
Si el irme de do estáis y detenerme,
Si el partirme de vos y no apartarme,
Si aquel, viéndoos airada, ardiendo helarme,
Y en el hielo de olvido el encenderme,
Si el huir de mi bien para perderme
Y el procurar mi mal para ganarme,
Indicios pueden dar si son, Señora,
Pruebas del gran dolor que me atormenta,
¿Para qué me tratáis de esta manera?
Si el alma de esta vida que os adora
De vuestra vida vive y se alimenta,
¿Por qué os mostráis, cuando me veis, tan fiera?

Another sonnet of Cetina is an evident translation from Sannazaro. The latter poet, after bewailing the shortness of life, the inevitableness of death, and the total absence of hope, ascribes to his own weakness the blame and responsibility for all his trouble. Compare Sannazaro:

Lasso, che ripensando al tempo breve
Di questa vita languida e mortale,
E, come con suoi colpi ogn' hora assale
La morte quei, che meno assalir deve;
Divento quasi al sol tepida neve;
Nè speme alcuna a consolar mi vale,
Ch' essendo in fin qui stato a spiegar l'ale,

[15] *Poesie volgare e latine del conte Baldessar Castiglione*, Roma, 1760, p. 27.

Il volo homai per mè sia tardo e greve.
Però s'io piango, e mi lamento spesso
Di Fortuna, e d'Amore, e di Madonna,
Non ho ragion, se non contra mè stesso.
Ch' a guisa d'huom, che vaneggiando assonna,
Me pasco d'ombre, e ho la morte appresso
Ne penso c'ho a lassar la fragil gonna.[16]

With Cetina (sonnet LIX):

Cuando a contemplar vengo el curso breve
Desta vida mortal, vana, ligera,
Y cómo saltear airada y fiera
Suele la muerte a aquel que morir debe,
Viene el sentido a ser casi de nieve,
Ante el sol del temor que desespera,
Viendo cuán tarde y mal, ya que andar quiera,
El mal uso a virtud los pasos mueve.
Y es el mal que me quejo y muestro ceño
De fortuna, de Amor, de mi Señora,
Sabiendo que la culpa es toda mía:
Que como hombre engolfado en dulce sueño,
Me duermo sin pensar siquiera un hora
Que siendo el morir cierto, ignoro el día.

Further evidence of Sannazaro's influence upon Cetina's verse is revealed in the third tercet of the latter's sonnet C:

Que en el arena estéril sembrar quiere,
Y arar piensa en el agua con su mano,
El que pone esperanza en hembra alguna.

which is a translation of verses 10–13 of the eighth *egloga* of Sannazaro's *Arcadia*:

Ne l'onda solca, e ne l'arena semina,
E 'l vago vento spera in rete accogliere
Chi sue speranze fonda en cor di femenina.

There are other passages in Cetina's poetry containing ideas

[16] *Arcadia e Rime*, edition of 1581, p. 15

and wording similar to those last quoted. Notice, for example, in the *epístola* to don Jerónimo de Urrea:

> ¡Mísero yo, que me ha cabido en suerte
> Arar el mar, sembrar en el arena,
> Cuyo fruto en llorar se me convierte![17]

Later we shall observe Cetina recognizing in Auzias March similar views of the inconstancy of womankind. Following him, he expresses certainty (*canción* VIII, stanza I) that "honestidad" and "lealtad pura" do not exist "en ánimo de hembra a mudar presto," and that he has done a stupid thing in looking for "firmeza do jamás firmeza dura." We cannot, therefore, credit Sannazaro with being Cetina's sole guide in the expression of such sentiments, which are indeed inherently natural, however illogical, in a lover and poet.

It will be remembered that Cetina's *capítulo* I, *Diga quien diga, y quien alaba alabe*,[18] is an amplification of Ariosto's *elegia, Piaccia a cui piace, e chi lodar vuol lodi*, and that his *canción* V, *Cuando la noche en el partir del día*,[19] is a very close translation of the same poet's *canzone, Quando 'l sol parte, e l'ombra il mondo cuopre*. The following sonnet of Ariosto also found its way intact into the poetry of Cetina:

> Se senza fin son le cagion ch' io v'ami,
> E sempre di voi pensi e in voi sospiri,
> Come volete, oimè! ch' io mi ritiri,
> E senza fin d'esser con voi non brami?
> Son la fronte, le ciglia, e quei legami
> Del mio cor, aurei crini, e quei zaffiri
> De' be' vostri occhi, e lor soavi giri,
> Donna, per trarmi a voi tutti esca ed ami.
> Son di coralli, perle, avorio e latte,
> Di che fur labbra, denti, seno, e gola,
> Alle forme degli angeli ritratte;

[17] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. II, pp. 39–40.
[18] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 153–156.
[19] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 232–239.

Son del gir, dello star, d'ogni parole,
D'ogni sguardo soave, in somma, fatte
Le reti, onde a intricarsi il mio cor vola.

Cetina recounts in identical sequence, though omitting most of Ariosto's second quatrain, the charms of his own beloved. Her angelic physical beauties are all so many nets by which his heart is inextricably ensnared. Ariosto's third verse evidently impressed our poet strongly, for he made of part of it a sort of refrain which he placed in the third line of all of the four divisions of his sonnet. The Italian poem loses little, if anything, in its Spanish dress.

Sonnet CCXVI:

Si tantas partes hay por vuestra parte
Para que os ame y que por vos suspire,
¿Cómo queréis, mi bien, que me retire
De tal empresa y que de amar me aparte?
Si el cielo en sola vos muestra y reparte
Tal gracia y tal verdad que el mundo admire,
¿Cómo queréis, mi bien, que el alma aspire
A nueva hermosura, o con cuál arte?
Si son nieve, oro, perlas y corales
Los cabellos, la boca, el cuello, el pecho,
¿Cómo queréis, mi bien, que no me encienda?
Si vuestros modos, más que naturales,
Me tienen tan vencido y tan estrecho,
¿Cómo queréis, mi bien, que me defienda?

During the first half of the sixteenth century there appeared in Italy numerous collections of sonnets. Among the earliest of these were the *Sylve* of Marcello Philoxeno, dealing mainly with contemporary events, and especially with the Italian expeditions of Charles VIII and Louis XII of France at the end of the fifteenth century. This poet embodied in his work much of the beauty of his master Petrarch, and displayed little of the triviality and eroticism of which many of his contemporaries, followers of Petrarch, were guilty. Among his *sonetti juvenili* is the following:

Se tienmi a te lontan fortuna altera,
Amor per star rimedio al mio flagello,
Già nel mio cor te impresse; unde io son quello
Così da te lontan qual vicin era.
Tu sai quando se imprime ne la cera
Qualche figura per firmo sigillo,
Ancor che non li stia vicin l'anello
La stampa resta ognhor pura e sincera.
Ma come può l'anel far più figure,
E la figura non ha tal effecto
Che come impressa fu conven che dure.
Così io a lei sola ognor resto suggetto
Nè posso come tu mutar misure
Unde poi star sicura ed io in suspecto.[20]

This conception of the power of the lady to create impressions upon the mind of her lover, which he is powerless thereafter to alter, but which do not affect her capacity to create other impressions at will, and the resemblance of such a phenomenon to the stamping by hard metal of images upon the yielding and helpless wax, seems to have been an original one with Philoxeno.[21] Cetina appears to have had before him the above poem in the composition of the quatrains of his sonnet XXXII:

Como de duro entalle una figura
Con gran facilidad se imprime en cera,
Y como queda siempre aquélla entera
Mientra que otra imprimir no se procura;
Tal en mi alma vuestra hermosura
Ha esculpido el amor cual en vos era,
Y hala dejado siempre en la primera,
Viendo que de algún otra no se cura.

He concludes with a pleasing simile of his own invention:

El cuerpo que a seguir al alma aspira,
Por no haber parte en él de vos ajena,
Muestra en sí mil imágenes iguales:
Como sala que está de espejos llena,
Que la imagen de aquel que en uno mira
En todos muestra siempre unas señales.

[20] *Sylve di Marcello Philoxeno, Tarvisino, poeta clarissimo*, Venezia, 1516, No. 13, p. 96.

[21] Philoxeno has the same figure in another of his sonnets in the same collection, beginning *Quando che'l conio imprompta sua figura*, p. 214.

It was a current superstition during the Middle Ages, and even centuries later, that blood would gush from the wounds of a dead man if his murderer approached and looked upon him. Serafino Aquilano, with his customary tendency to emphasize the exaggerated and fantastical, makes use of this idea to explain the effect of the presence of his "diva" upon his own person, figuratively lifeless from despair:

Un om che a mala morte ucciso sia
Privato d'ogni spirto per molte ore,
Sopravenendo al corpo el mal fattore
Butta sangue la piaga come pria.
Se questo en un che al viver non ha via
Natura sì li presta tal vigore,
Che ancor che in lui non sia alcun vigore
Che tal effetto pur possibil fia.
Et io che vivo ancor morendo viva
In me non fia possibil tal effetto
Sopragiugnendo l'amica mia diva.
Natural fu d'animo, e non difetto
Mutarmi di color che 'l cor bolliva
D'amor, vedendo a chi mi fe' suggetto.[22]

If Cetina adapted the above, as it seems reasonable to believe, in view of the fact that the figure involved has apparently not appeared elsewhere in Petrarchan poetry, his adaptation is at least very free.

Sonnet LIII:

Cosa es cierta, Señora, y muy sabida,
Aunque el secreto della está encubierto,
Que lanza de sí sangre un cuerpo muerto,
Si se pone a mirarlo el homicida.
Así yo (aunque estoy vivo) estoy sin vida,
Siendo visto de vos, que me habéis muerto:
Con mi sangre mostré lo que más cierto
Mostráis vos con mostraros desabrida.
Pero si no fué así, fué que corriendo

[22] *Le Rime di Serafino di Ciminelli dell'Aquila, a cura di Mario Menghini*, Bologna, 1894, p 194.

La sangre al corazón, para valelle,
Por saliros a ver erró el camino;
Salvo si no fué el alma, que, sintiendo
Su agravio, así ante vos quiso ponelle
Con señal tan costoso y tan divino.

Another probable source for Cetina in Italian poetry, which it seems well worth while to mention here, is found in a sonnet by Bernardino Rota (1509–1575). The latter's poem relates how Actaeon, having accidentally caught a glimpse of Diana bathing in a fountain, was changed forthwith by her into a stag, and was torn to pieces by his own dogs as punishment. So, on beholding the more divine than human countenance of his lady, must the poet flee from his own avenging thoughts to inevitable doom through their agency. As the vulture upon Ticius, and the eagle upon Prometheus, so Love preys continually upon him.

Rota:

Qual già colui que mal vide Diana
Bagnar nel fonte, e volto en altra forma
Fuggendo de' suoi veltri il dente, e l' orma,
Rimase preda lor misera, e strana;
Tal, s'io veggio il bel viso oltra l'umana
Condizion, ch' in fera mi trasforma,
Fuggo de' pensier miei la crudel torma,
Che mi segue, mi giunge, e prende, e sbrana:
Nè perchè d'ora in or m'impiaghe, e morda,
Posso morir; che son' ognor più nova,
Ma ben poch' esca a sì gran fame, e ria,
Che vole il ciel, cui contrastar non giova,
Ch' io sia Tizio e Prometeo, e ch' Amor sia
Famelico avoltojo, aquila ingorda.[23]

Cetina reproduces exactly the same unusual guiding thought, though in different language.

[23] *Delle Poesie del Signor Bernardino Rota, Cavaliere Napoletano*, Napoli, 1726, Vol. I, p. 52.

Sonnet CXXXVIII:

Mientras que de sus canes rodeado
El mísero Acteón seguro andaba,
Mientras con más amor los regalaba
Por habérselos él mismo criado,
Habiendo, por su mal, un día mirado
La beldad que a un fuente se bañaba,
De aquellos de quien él más confiaba
Se vió el triste, a la fin, despedazado.
Tal obra hace en mí el pensamiento,
Tan regalado mío y tan querido,
Tan confiado yo de sus hazañas,
Que en viendo la ocasión de mi tormento,
Airado luego me ha desconocido
Y así me despedaza las entrañas.

That it occurred independently to both poets to make the same striking personal application of this mythological narrative, is most unlikely. It is, of course, possible that Cetina and Rota had access to a common original, but if so the writer has not found it, nor anything even remotely like it.

And finally may be mentioned two sonnets inspired by Luigi Tansillo, which were overlooked by Savj-Lopez and Mele in their studies of the Italian sources of Cetina.

One of Tansillo's sonnets treats the familiar theme that joyful days glide swiftly by, while those filled with anxiety and fears move with leaden feet:

Passano i lieti dì come baleni,
E da mane precipitano a sera;
E tanto l'alma amareggiata e nera
Lascian, quanto essi fur dolci e sereni.
I tristi movon lenti; e mille freni
Han l'ore, che gli adducon dove assera:
Par che il motor della seconda sfera
Sproni quelli, e Saturno questi affreni.
Mentre i begli occhi, ove t'annidi e veli,
Amor, sin quì godea da presso, levi
Correano quasi a gara il dì e la notte.

Or, ch' io piango lontan, le rote rotte
Son d'ambo i carri; nè la state brevi
Fa le sue lune, nè la bruma i soli.[14]

The quantrains were reproduced by Cetina in the following manner (sonnet CLXIII):

Pasan tan presto los alegres días
Volando sin parar apresurados,
Y del perdido bien acompañados
Llevan tras sí las esperanzas mías;
Mas los que traen las ansias, las porfías,
Temor, recelos, bascas y cuidados,
Estos pasan de espacio, tan pesados,
Que parece que van por otras vías.

The tercets of the Spanish sonnet, however, diverge quite widely from those of the Italian. Tansillo had said that, during absence from his beloved, night's chariot wheels, as well as those of the day, were broken, causing them to move so slowly. Cetina asks why nature's laws, in reality immutable, are so strangely unstable in his disordered fancy. Thus:

Pues si no muda el sol su movimiento,
Si regla cierta en sus caminos guarda,
Si no se puede errar orden del cielo,
Las horas enojosas del tormento
¿Por qué tan luengas son? ¿Cómo se tarda?
Y las alegres, ¿quién las lleva en vuelo?

The other sonnet mentioned as derived from Tansillo is one in which the material is taken from a certain composition of that poet in octaves. In the latter the poet is represented as led by chance into a thick shaded forest of oaks, where lies a shepherd fatally wounded. His head rests against the bosom of his "ninfa," who gives such passionate expression to her grief that the dying shepherd weeps in sorrow for her, rather than because of his own ill fortune. The second half of the poem runs:

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[14] *Poesie liriche edite ed inedite di Luigi Tansillo, con prefazione e note di F. Fiorentino*, Napoli, 1882, p. 32.

Con quel poco di spirto che gli avanza,
Non mi duole il morir, dicea il pastore,
Purchè dopo la morte abbi speranza
Di vivere alcun tempo nel tuo core:
Dicea il pastore, come avrà possanza
Di vivere un de' due, se l'altro more?
S'io vivo nel tuo petto, e tu nel mio,
Come, morendo tu, viver poss' io?

Mentre quella le piaghe va sciugando,
E quel de' suoi begli occhi il pianto beve,
O caso troppo doloroso! quando
Il ferito pastor pur morir deve,
Veggio la bella ninfa andar mancando
E cader morta; per finir in breve:
Rimasero ambidue morti in quel suolo,
Che l'uno uccise il ferro, e l'altro il duolo.[25]

The Spanish nymph, who is Amaríllida, our poet's second, or at least not his first love, is described by Cetina as bewailing too late her past indifference to her faithful shepherd. The spirit of the two poems is visibly different, and the actual borrowing is very slight, but relationship is confirmed by two lines identical wording. Compare Cetina's sonnet XLVI:

Con aquel poco espíritu cansado
Que queda al que el vivir le va dejando,
En brazos de Amaríllida llorando
Vandalio, de salud desconfiado,
"*No me duele el morir desesperado*
—Dijo—pues con mi mal se va acabando;
Mas duéleme que parto y no sé cuándo,
Señora, habrás dolor de mi cuidado."
La ninfa, que con lágrimas el pecho
Del mísero pastor todo bañaba,
"Sin premio no será tu amor,"—decía.
Mas él, puesto en el paso más estrecho,
Mucho más que el morir pena le daba
No poder ya gozar del bien que vía.

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 185–186.

The preceding pages of this chapter have presented five hitherto unmentioned translations by Cetina of sonnets by Andrea Gesualdo, Francesco Coccio, Ariosto, Castiglione, and Sannazaro, only two of whom, Ariosto and Castiglione, had been previously mentioned as sources for Cetina's poetry. It has been seen also that Tansillo furnished inspiration for two sonnets, in addition to the six sonnets and three longer poems whose source in Tansillo's verse had already been brought to our knowledge by Savj-Lopez and Mele; that one of Cetina's sonnets was clearly inspired by Trifone Gabriele, and another by Bembo; and that probability is very strong, to the extent of one sonnet each, of influence by Marcello Philoxeno, Bernardino Rota, Serafino Aquilano and Castiglione. In the case of still another sonnet there was noted a slight additional trace of influence by Sannazaro.

This study, therefore, although it contributes supplementary proofs of Cetina's liking for the poetry of Tansillo, Ariosto and Castiglione among Petrarchists, does not show that he felt a decided preference for any Italian poet or group of poets. Its results merely go to support those obtained by other students of the work of Cetina, namely, that his verses present him to us as a care-free and impetuous young soldier who, subject only to the will of his sovereign and commander, lived as he pleased, loved as he pleased, and gathered materials for poetry where he pleased.

That the sonnets which the present writer has been able to show were borrowed from Italian sources do not add greatly to our knowledge of Cetina's literary tastes and interests, and that they are less numerous than might have been anticipated as a result of the careful study that has been made of them, is explained no doubt partly by the fact that Cetina, like Boscán, although glorifying things Italian, yet felt a closer spiritual kinship to a poet of his own country than to any of Italy. To the predominating intellectual influence of this poet upon Cetina will be devoted most of the remaining pages of this study.

IV

The Influence of Auzias March

The works of the renowned Valencian poet, Auzias March, were extraordinarily popular in Spain about the middle of the sixteenth century.[1]

None of them, however, had appeared in print before 1539. In that year Baltasar de Romaní, also of Valencia, published in that city a considerable part of the poems of March, which he divided into four *canticas;* namely, *Cantica de Amor* (containing twenty-six *cants*), *Cantica moral* (four *cants*), *Cantica de muerte* (eight *cants*), and *Cantica spiritual* (four *cants*). Following each stanza of the Catalan is Romaní's translation into Castilian verse,[2] which reproduces the original in number of syllables to the line, number of lines to the stanza, and also, as far as possible, in rhyme-words. Such a translation was of necessity unsatisfactory from the point of view of literary art, but Fernando Folch de Cardona, Almirante de Nápoles, was so impressed by the specimens here revealed of the work of March that he ordered search to be instituted for everything he had written. As a result of this order three copies of the dispersed (and in many cases practically lost) manuscripts of March's poems were drawn up between the years 1540 and 1543.[3] The first two of these were the work of Pere de Vilasaló,

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[1] For indications of March's influence upon the work of many Castilian poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see the work already frequently cited of Amédée Pagès, *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, Paris, 1912, pp. 408–422.

[2] A copy of this rare book is in the library of the Hispanic Society of America. Its exact title is: *Las obras del famosissimo philosopho y poeta Mossen Osias Marco, cauallero Ualé / ciano de nacion Catalan / traduzidas por don Baltasar de Romani / y diuididas en quatro Canticas: es a saber: / Cantica de Amor / Cantica moral / Cântica de muerte / y Cantica spiritual. Dirigidas al excelentissimo señor el duque de Calabria.* Anno M. D. XXXIX (119 pages, two sides to the page).

There is no textual evidence to prove that Cetina made any use of Romaní's translations, which involve less than half of the total number of stanzas of March indicated in this study as inspiring verses of Cetina.

[3] See *Les Obres d'Auzias March*, edició critica per Amadeu Pagès, Barcelona, 1912, 1914, Vol. I, pp. 60–64.

a cleric who had little talent for such a task, and whose results were consequently incomplete and unsatisfactory. The third copy, however, made by one Luis Pedrol, who utilized the copies of Vilasaló, was apparently complete, and served to form the basis of the first edition properly so-called of March's poetry, published in Barcelona in 1543 and reprinted there in 1545. Again in 1555 the poems were re-edited with amended text for the use of Castilians by Juan de Resa, chaplain of Philip the Second, and published in Valladolid. Still another edition, the last before the nineteenth century, was printed, again under the auspices of the Almirante de Nápoles, in Barcelona in 1560.[4] In the same year there appeared in Valencia the well-known translation by Montemayor, of which Lope de Vega's criticism[5] was unnecessarily severe, of ninety of the *cants d'amor* and six *sparças;* and this was republished, accompanied by the *Cantica moral*, *Cantica spiritual*, and *Cantica de muerte*, of Romaní's translation, at Zaragoza in 1562 and at Madrid in 1579.

It is no part of the purpose of this study to discuss the poetic qualities of March, but certain facts in relation to his work may here be recalled.

There is evidence that he knew the work of Petrarch, but almost none that he adapted any part of it to his own uses. Although both poets wrote chiefly of love, the theme that unites them in a sense to each other as well as to their hosts of imitators, their attitude toward life, and their consequent conceptions of love, were altogether dissimilar.

Petrarch was a humanist, a foe to the abstractions and austerities of medievalism which were the very breath of life to March. The latter was continually obsessed, at least as regards his poetic art, with the fear of death and the Judgment, a fear which did not disturb Petrarch. The Valencian passionately proclaimed his theories of virtue and happiness, and the ascendancy

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[4] The title of *Almirante de Nápoles* appears in the dedication of this edition to Folch de Cardona, along with those of Duque de Soma, Conde de Olivito y Palamós, and other titles belonging to the distinguished Catalan nobleman.

[5] "Castissimos son aquellos versos que escriuió Ausias March en lengua Lemosina que tan mal y sin entenderlos Montemayor traduxo." *Hermosura de Angelica*, Madrid, 1602, fol. 338v.

of that love which is purely of the spirit. Petrarch, as a humanist, did not occupy himself in his verses with these things. March's mistress is a phantom woman, without clear outlines. Laura is presented to us as a creature of flesh and blood, with carefully delineated physical charms.

The Valencian poet, then, although living at the dawn of the Renaissance, was less modern in many respects than Petrarch, and was indeed, as the above characteristics indicate, thoroughly imbued with the habits of thought of the Middle Ages and scholasticism. It was to be expected, therefore, that poets of the stirring times of the Renaissance, however much they might admire his subtleties and his metaphorical language, would not assimilate with any degree of completeness his actual ideas respecting life and love. This we find to have been the case. Spanish poets who imitated both March and Petrarch freely appropriated the substance of the former's conceptions, and the figures of speech in which his work abounded, but applied them in a manner and taste thoroughly Petrarchan.

It is a matter of common knowledge that Boscán, in much the same manner as he had introduced Italian meters, also introduced into Castile, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the fashion of imitating and translating the work of Auzias March. He read the latter's poetry in manuscript before it began to circulate in print, and communicated his enthusiasm for it to Garcilaso. The most admired by Boscán of all the *cants d'amor* was the first, the initial line of which, *Axí com cell qui 'n lo somni 's delita*, he placed as a title at the head of his manuscript of *sonetos* and *canciones*. No less than seven of his sonnets contain traces of the substance of this poem,[6] which describes the anguish occasioned by the memory of past joys in the midst of present forebodings and afflictions. Two other sonnets of Boscán are palpably derived from verses of March, and many other evidences of his admiration for the Valencian poet are scattered through his verses. It was Boscán who established a bond of union between Auzias March and modern Castilian poetry.[7]

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[6] Pagès, *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 410.
[7] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

Garcilaso's borrowings from March are less substantial by far than those of his friend, but to speak only of his sonnets, two, or perhaps three[8] of them, show evidence of the inspiration of the Catalan. One of these instances of borrowing involves words and thoughts utilized by Cetina, and will be mentioned later in connection with the March-Cetina parallels. In general, it may be said that Garcilaso incorporated in his verses some thoughts and figures derived from March, but that he did so in a thoroughly independent manner, and presented a finished work whose title to originality is almost wholly unimpaired by indebtedness to this source. So true is this that it is to be doubted, as Professor Keniston observes,[9] that Garcilaso was personally familiar with March's work. The reminiscences of the Catalan poetry appearing in the verses of the Toledan may quite as well have been transmitted through Boscán.

The influence of Boscán was quite sufficient to make of March an author "à la mode." After him Spanish Petrarchists will hardly separate in their minds the Valencian poet from the Italians. Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, following in the path of Boscán and Garcilaso, was impressed by the same *cant* that had suggested seven sonnets to the former, and devoted three sonnets to glossing it. Two other *cants* of March furnish substance and wording for two of Mendoza's sonnets. One *estancia* is inspired by March, and scattered ideas from the same source are to be seen elsewhere in Mendoza's poetry.[10] Luis de León presents evidence in his verse of having studied the *cants d'amor*,[11] and Fernando de Herrera's poetry betrays a really pervasive influence of March, difficult to describe and to localize. Hernando de Acuña, finally, to mention only the more prominent

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[8] Doubt has been expressed (Morel-Fatio, *L'Espagne au XVIe et au XVIIe siecle*, Heilbronn, 1878, p. 68) of Garcilaso's authorship of the sonnet *Amor, amor, un hábito vestí*, inspired by verses 25–28 of March's *cant* LXXVII, *No pot mostrar lo mon menyspietat.*

[9] *Garcilaso de la Vega, a critical study of his life and works*, by Hayward Keniston, New York, Hispanic Society of America, 1922, p. 211.

[10] See Pagès, *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, pp. 416–417.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 418.

of Cetina's contemporaries, presents two sonnets clearly shown to be derived from the Valencian poet.[12]

Cetina's indebtedness to Auzias March differs from that of other Spanish poets mainly in the fact of its incomparably greater extent. His borrowings begin, as Pagès was the first to observe,[13] with the opening verses of the first *cant d'amor.*

This poem, a favorite with Boscán and Mendoza, who as above noted, glossed it repeatedly, contrasts the poet's present state of grief with the happy days when love with its torments was unknown to him. In connection with Cetina's borrowing, the following verses of the Catalan may be quoted (1–8 and 41–42):

Axí com cell qui 'n lo somni 's delita
e son delit de foll pensament ve,
ne pren a mi que 'l temps passat me té
l'imaginar, qu'altre be no 'y abita.
Sentint estar en aguayt ma dolor,
sabent de cert qu'en ses mans he de jaure.
temps d'avenir en negun be 'm pot caure:
ço qu'es no res a mi es lo millor. . . .

Plena de seny, quant amor es molt vella,
absença es lo verme que la gasta, . . .[14]

Cetina's sonnet XCI is a free adaptation of these ideas:

El triste recordar del bien pasado
Me representa el alma a mi despecho,
Y el pensar que pasó me tiene hecho,
De esperar qué será, desesperado.
Ando de un no sé qué mal aquejado,
Que me parece que me roe el pecho;
Pienso que es desear, pero sospecho
Que no da el desear tanto cuidado.

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[12] For one of these borrowings see Pagès, *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 417; and for the other J. P. W. Crawford, *Notes on the poetry of Hernando de Acuña*, in *Romanic Review*, Vol. VII, 1916, p. 326.

[13] *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 417.

[14] All quotations from March are taken from *Les Obres d'Auzias March*, edició crítica per Amadeu Pagès, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 2 vols., Barcelona, 1912 and 1914.

Pues si no es desear, ¿qué es lo que siento?
Yo sé que no es temor; tampoco es celo;
Que no me da vuestro valor licencia.
¿Si es fuerza de amoroso pensamiento?
No, que el pensar consigo trae consuelo.
Mas ¡ay! que ya sé qué es; no es sino ausencia.

The fifth *cant. d'amor* recounts the efforts of the well-nigh despairing lover to conceal his passion, so that his mistress and he may be protected from slanderous tongues. The first stanza tells of the purifying and ennobling qualities of true love.

Tant he amat que mon grosser enginy
per gran treball de pensa es suptil.
Lexant a part aquell sentiment vil
qu'en jorn present los enamorats ciny,
so tant sabent que sé ben departir
amor d'aquell desig no virtuós,
car tot desig, retent hom congoxós,
no 's ver amor, ne per tal se deu dir.

Cetina develops the same ideas almost literally in his sonnet CCXXV:

Tanto tiempo he en amor perseverado,
Que el flaco ingenio, rústico y grosero,
Un pensamiento blando, a ratos fiero,
Poco a poco lo ha hecho delicado.
Y aquel sujeto vil, atrás dejado,
Que suele a un amador no verdadero
Desviar de aquel bien puro y sincero,
En los amantes de hoy tan poco usado.
Ya sé hacer de sabio diferencia
Entre amor y un deseo que es lascivo;
Sé cuanto el uno más que el otro vale.
Mostrádome ha mi mal por experiencia
Que un triste desear fogoso, esquivo,
No es amor, ni de amor nace ni sale.

The weariness of life without hope is the ever-recurring

refrain of the eleventh *cant*. Death is preferable, says March, verses 23–24,

> "car, si l'om es a mals aparellat,
> la veu de Mort li es melodiosa."

Cetina amplifies March's 44 lines into 162, without adding very much to the total impression conveyed by the Catalan. The greatest similarity exists in the opening verses of the two compositions:

Cant XI, verses 1–8,

> Quins tan segurs consells vas encerquant,
> Cor malastruch, enfastijat de viure,
> amich de plor e desamich de riure?
> Com soferras los mals qui 't son davant?
> Acuyta 't donchs a la Mort qui t'espera,
> e per tos mals te allongues los jorns,
> aytant es luny ton delitós sojorns.
> Com vols fugir de la Mort falaguera?[15]

Cetina, *canción* X, verses 1–13,

> ¿Qué conciertos inciertos vas buscando,
> Corazón temeroso?
> Si estás ya del vivir tan enfadado,
> Si estás ya tan sujeto a la tristeza,
> Si los males te van así apretando,
> Y el dolor tan rabioso,
> ¿Cómo piensas salir de tal cuidado?
> Si la muerte no humilla su fiereza,
> ¿No miras que es bajeza
> Querer vivir el que en miseria vive?
> Lo que en mi alma escribe
> La mano del sentido, en mal tan fuerte,
> Haz que pueda leerse con mi muerte.

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[15] Garcilaso's sonnet IV contains the following verses, derived from this stanza:

> ¿Quién sufrirá tan áspera mudanza
> Del bien al mal? ¡ O corazón cansado!
> Esfuerza en la miseria de tu estado. . . .

See Pagès, *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 412.

From March's *cant* XV Cetina has drawn two sonnets. From the first four lines of the first stanza,

Si pres grans mals un be 'm serà guardat,
Mos guays e plants delits se convertran:
aprés los mals los bens mellors parran,
e be no val tant com no es preat.
Rey pot ser dit lo pobre dins sa pensa
per un petit do que 'l sia offert,
e, lo rich hom, de larguesa desert,
gran suma d'or pobretat no 'l defensa.

he composed his sonnet CCXVII, keeping more logically than March to a single unifying idea:

Si tras de tanto mal me está guardado
Algún bien de que estoy tan fuera agora,
Aún espero por vos cantar, Señora,
Con estilo más alto que he llorado.
Entonces será el bien más estimado,
Por no haber dél jamás sabido un hora,
Cual madre que por muerto al hijo llora,
Se alegra en verlo vivo a sí tornado.
Entonces contaré de la tormenta,
Seguro de zozobras en el puerto,
Y placeráme la pasada afrenta.
Desterraré al dolor, que sin concierto
Me suele fatigar, do nunca sienta
Nueva, ni sepa dél si es vivo o muerto.

The other sonnet that is derived from this *cant* corresponds exactly to verses 17–24:

Si com lo sol escalf' ab sa calor
totes les parts que son dejus lo cell,
escalf' Amor cascun cor de bon zel,
sino 'l de vos qui es ple de fredor.
D'on ve lo glaç, qui tanta fredor porta,
ffaent contrast al calt que Amor gita?
Los ermitans fa surtir de l'ermita:
los grans delits s'entren per esta porta.

Cetina utilizes all but the last two verses in his sonnet XXXIII:

Como el calor de la celeste esfera
Calienta y vivifica y da consuelo,
Cuanto hay elementado acá en el suelo,
Arbol, planta, animal, flor, hierba o fiera;
Así, Señora, Amor de esta manera
Los pechos arde de amoroso celo,
Si no es el vuestro, que por ser de hielo,
De mal tan general se queda fuera.
Pero si el sol al mayor hielo ofende,
Lo consume y deshace como vemos,
El vuestro ante mi ardor, ¿quién lo defiende?
Y si ambos de su ardor nos defendemos,
¿Cómo se hiela en vos y en mí se enciende?
¿Caben en un sujeto dos extremos?

In *cant* XXVII the substance of the song is that the lover is never free from torment. The cause of his suffering lies either in the intensity of his desire, or in his fear of betraying to the lady his passion. (Verses 1–8):

Sobresdolor m'a tolt l'Imaginar;
l'Enteniment no 's dol, ni 's pot esbatre.
Aytant esdolc que l'ha calgut abatre,
e mon affany, plorant, no 's pot mostrar.
No trob remey, car ma dolor es tanta
que mon Voler en parts ne tinch partit,
n'en sol un loch lo 'm trobe ahunit,
sino 'n morir e viure que 's decanta.

Compare the adaptation of Cetina (sonnet CCXXXV), who endeavors to utilize all the eight lines of the stanza, and adds a final tercet which is his own:

Un temor me destruye el pensamiento,
Siendo sólo el pensar cuanto bien tengo:
Mi mal no es grave; mas, por ser más luengo,
Miedo es el que me acaba el sufrimiento.
Cuando está mas caído el sentimiento,
Cuando más desvalido a sus pies vengo,
Pensando me sustento y me entretengo;
Que no cupo otra gloria en mi tormento.

¡Ay Dios, qué nuevo mal tan sin remedio,
Que ni la voluntad siento partida,
Ni está, salvo en morir, entera en cosa!
Señora, ¿qué haré? : dad vos remedio.
Acábame el dolor luego la vida,
Y no me llega prenda tan preciosa.

The alternating hopes and doubts of the lover, who is afraid to declare himself, and yet is fearful of the consequences of his silence, form the basis of a number of other sonnets and longer poems by Cetina. The idea seems to have been inspired by the reading of March.

Another sonnet derived from the same *cant* (XXVII) is not less faithful to its original. Compare verses 33–40 of the Catalan:

Ma Voluntat, ab qu' en la mar fuy mes,
fallida es, e pogra 'm fer ajuda!
Ja ma Rahó de son loch es cayguda;
mos pensaments contraris m'an atès.
Ja mos desigs no saben elegir
vida ne mort, qual es la millor triha.
Natura 'n mi usa de maestria,
e pren la mort, per major dan fugir.

with Cetina's sonnet LXVII:

De aquella voluntad que a mi tormento
Pudo entregarme así tan de su grado,
No puedo en nada ya ser ayudado,
Ni en mi favor ni como mía la siento.
Perdió razón su acostumbrado asiento,
Que el nuevo mal nueva razón me ha dado,
Y en tanta confusión sólo ha quedado
Por verdugo del alma el pensamiento.
Tampoco me quedó libre el deseo
Que entre vida y morir busca y no acierta
De cuál se agrada más, cuál me conviene.
Pensad cuál debo estar; ved cuál me veo,
Que el morir, por entrar, corre a la puerta
Y el vivir, por salir, se lo detiene.

Cetina's sonnet CLX is a free adaptation of the first stanza

of *cant d'amor* XXVIII. The first four verses of the stanza furnish the material for the quatrains, and the last four for the tercets. Compare:

Lo jorn ha por de perdre sa claror,
com ve la nit qu' espandeix ses tenebres.
Pochs animals no cloen les palpebres
e los malalts crexen de llur dolor.
Los malfactors volgren tot l'any duras
per que llurs mals haguessen cobriment,
mas yo, qui visch menys de par en turment
e sens mal fer, volgra que tost passas.

Padre se llama al sol de la alegría;
A mí la vista dél más me entristece;
Apenas alejándose anochece,
Cuando muero por ver venido el día.
Todo cuanto en la tierra el cielo cría
Reposa con la noche; en mí parece
Que con fuerza mayor a la par crece
También la obscuridad del alma mía.
Y si del que mal hace es deseada,
Que luz ver no querría en todo el año,
¿Por cuál razón a mí me desagrada?
Que demás de tratar de día mi daño,
En la noche, al descanso aparejada,
Soy más cierto ministro de mi engaño.

In *cant* XXXIII, *Sens lo desig de cosa desonesta*, March proclaims the purity of his love, and asserts that its inexhaustible source lies in the spirit. Cetina's attention appears to have been fixed mainly on verses 25–32:

Si com lo foch creix la sua flamada,
quant li son dats molts fusts per que 'ls aflam,
e ladonchs creix, e mostra major fam,
com pot sorbir cosa que 'l sia dada:
ne pren a mi, car ma voluntat creix
per los desigs presentats en ma penssa,
e, remoguts, seria 'l fer offenssa,
car d'altra part ma voluntat no 's peix.

He reproduces the figure and the sentiments of this stanza, but in reverse order (sonnet LXX):

De la contemplación del pensamiento
Crece la voluntad mi fantasía;
Del dulce imaginar del alma mía
Hace el Amor en mí firme cimiento.
Del pensar nace en mí el contentamiento
Que da más viva fuerza a mi porfía;
Tanto mi desear las alas cría
Cuanto nacen de más conocimiento.
Las partes que de vos este alma entiende,
Mientra que más las voy considerando,
Mayor ardor al corazón envío;
Como el fuego, que tanto más se enciende
Cuanto más leña en él irán echando:
¡Ved, pues, si es inmortal el fuego mío!

Cant XXXVII furnished to Cetina material for no less than three sonnets. In this composition the poet blames himself because he has not revealed his passion to his lady, and with the consequent sentiment of shame there is mingled also the pain of unrequited love. In this pain, however, the poet contrives to see a certain foundation, or condition of happiness. Cetina's sonnets VII and CLXXXIV seem to have been written without hope of future favors. Compare March, verses 1–8,

La mia por d'alguna causa mou,
per be que 'l juy se meta 'n bon esper.
Mon sentiment, profeta verdader,
de bon penssar mon penssament remou.
Que es açò que 'm veda tot repòs?
E lo dormir la congoxa no 'm tol,
e ma rahó cuyda morir per dol,
com en remey jamés donar ha clos.

with Cetina (sonnet VII),

—Amor: ¿de dónde nace un tan gran miedo?
¿Soy causa yo deste temor que siento?
¿Por qué no piensa el bien mi pensamiento

Ni de recelar mal tirarlo puedo?
¿Qué es esto que me quita el vivir ledo
Como salía cuando más contento?
Si me quita el descanso el sentimiento,
¿Quién me quita el esfuerzo y el denuedo?
Estas congojas y estas bascas tales,
¿De qué proceden? ¿Son por aventura
En los otros amantes desta suerte?
—Sí, respondió el Amor, tu desventura;
Que ni pueden hallar medio tus males,
Ni en tus males hallar medio la muerte.

and March, verses 9–16,

Dolor me puny que 'm don' al cor gran mos,
ne causa veig de l'avenidor dan:
mon esperit es mal prenostican,
generalment, qu' especial no 'l pos.
Quant me despert, me sembla que 'm desperta
una dolor, ab agut punyiment.
Ffamiliar é tant est penssament,
que 'l dan vinent ja tinch per cosa certa.

with Cetina (sonnet CLXXXIV),

Remorder de dolor el alma siento
Mil veces un temor de cosa incierta;
Un nuevo sobresalto en mí despierta
De venidero daño el sentimiento.
¡O desaventurado pensamiento,
Tan pronto siempre a abrir al mal la puerta!
¿No basta que al entrar la halle abierta,
Sin que entre antes el miedo que el tormento?
Si por desdicha duermo, a despertarme,
Helado, sin color, llega el recelo,
Pronosticando algún inconveniente.
Y es tan familiar en visitarme,
Que tengo, porque así lo ordena el cielo,
Siempre el mal por venir ya por presente.

In his sonnet CCXXXIX, also taken from the above, Cetina experiences with March a revulsion of feeling in regard to his

relations with his mistress, disclaims the belief that injury can come from her, absolves her from all blame, and even glories in his affliction, for pain after all is sweet. March, verses 41–48:

Jamés diré que siau lo mal meu,
car tot lo mal yo prench en molt gran be.
Si mon amich del meu mal semblant té,
yo per son be volgr' abans fos en creu.
Amor me fa lo carrech sostenir;
yo 'l malahesch, si per null temps me fall:
e, si mon cors pert virtut per treball,
no li don mort per son mal no finir.

Cetina's sonnet is derived chiefly from the first line of this stanza, and is not a slavish reproduction:

Vos sois todo mi bien, vos lo habéis sido;
Si he dicho alguna vez, Señora mía,
Que habéis sido mi mal, no lo entendía,
Hablaba con pasión o sin sentido.
Yo soy todo mi mal; yo lo he querido:
De mí viene, en mí nace, en mí se cría,
Tan satisfecha dél mi fantasía,
Que el mal no piensa haber bien merecido.
Vos fuistes, vos seréis mi buena suerte:
Si el mal desvariar me hace alcuanto,
Esta es mi voluntad libre y postrera.
Pues si con verme al punto de la muerte,
Por ser por vos, el mal lo tengo en tanto,
¡Ved qué hiciera el bien si lo tuviera!

Compare also with the last two lines of Cetina's sonnet verses 35–36 of the same *cant* (XXXVII) of March:

Yo am lo dan vengut per vos amar,
penssar deveu quant mes lo beniffet.

An example of close translation by Cetina is presented in *cant* XLVIII, *Ab vos me pot Amor ben esmenar*, verses 9–16:

Si cossa fos lauger' a comportar
que yo de vos hagués tal vantament
que 'm pogués dir esser vostre servent,

lo nom sens pus me bast' a contentar.
Tal me pareu que, si de ferm vos mir,
lo meu desig roman tan alterat
que no vol res del que ha desijat,
ne del present, ne del que pot venir.

Compare Cetina's sonnet CCVIII:

Si no fuese juzgado atrevimiento,
Si vuestra crüeldad lo comportase
Que vuestro servidor llamarme osase,
De sólo el nombre viviría contento.
Tal os pinta en mi alma el pensamiento,
Que no os miré jamás que no juzgase
Temeridad el bien que desease;
Y de tal desvarío me arrepiento.
Enójome de haber más deseado,
Y acusando a mí mismo mi locura,
De cuanto deseé no quiero nada.
Sólo en veros consiste mi ventura;
Todo lo porvenir me desagrada;
El bien presente es más que el mal pasado.

Pagès noted the relationship of *cant* LVII, verses 1–8, to Cetina's sonnet CCXXVII.[16] The lines are included here for reference. March:

Por de pijor a molts fa pendre mort
per esquivar mal esdevenidor:
si be la mort ressembl' a cas pijor,
cell qui la pren la té per bona sort;
e de açò Cato mostrà camí,
e li mes nom hus de la libertat,
car de tot als pot hom esser forçat,
sino 'n morir qu' es en lo franch juhí.

Cetina recites the same conception of voluntary death offering the means of escape from greater evils, and ingeniously makes personal application of it in his final verses:

[16] *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 417.

Temor de mayor mal a algunos suele
Hacer correr a voluntaria muerte,
Pensando así excusar dolor más fuerte,
Si bien más que el morir ninguno duele.
Hizo Catón que su memoria vuele,
Y el nombre a tal morir muda y pervierte;
Uso de libertad llama a su suerte,
Y muestra que con ella se consuele.
Si nuestra religión lo permitiera,
Como aquella gentil, que solamente
De un hermoso morir tuvo cuidado,
Yo sé por menos mal lo que hiciera;
Que salvo a no morir siéndoos ausente,
En todo puedo ser de vos forzado.

Both Hazañas y la Rúa and Pagès,[17] independently of each other, called attention to Cetina's translation of *cant* LIX, verses 1–8, in which the Valencian poet introduces one of his lugubrious similes involving sickness and death. March:

Si col malalt que 'l metge lo fa cert
que no 's pot fer que de la mort escap,
si donchs no beu de verí un anap,
e lo perill no li està cubert,
ne pren a mi, qui vull esperiment
molt perillós, e sens ell no pusch viure;
lo dilatar per mort se pot escriure,
e tem l'assaig ab la mort egualment.

Cetina (sonnet XXXVII):

Como enfermo a quien ya médico cierto
Dice que ha de morir si no se bebe
Un vaso de ponzoña, y no se atreve,
Siéndole el daño de ello descubierto,
Teme, si dura el mal, que ha de ser muerto
Antes que el medio peligroso pruebe,
Y si para proballo al fin se mueve
Está de su salud también incierto.
A tal término, Amor, soy allegado,

[17] *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, p. 39; *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 417.

Que me mata el temor, y el desengaño
Me tiene de la muerte temeroso.
Pensar venir en duda es excusado;
Y habiendo de pasar por el un daño
De entrambos igualmente estoy dudoso.

For the material of another sonnet Cetina selected verses 49–56 of *cant* LXII, *Qui 'm mostrarà la Fortuna loar:*

M'oppinió es en mon cor escrita
que, sino vos, als no la m'en pot raure.
Vos me podeu en tota 'rror fer caure,
puys que Amor forçar-mi se delita,
e tant desig que si' amat per vos
que m'es forçat duptar que axí sia.
Amor me fa de veritat falsia:
no bast' en pus qu' en esser sospitós.

Cetina amplifies March's lines and varies them slightly, omitting the idea that great desire brings with it inevitable doubt, and adding the thought, implied, it is true, in the Catalan, of his mistress's (sonnet CIV) irresistible beauty:

Está en mi alma mi opinión escrita
Con tal fuerza de amor, tan bien guardada,
Que si de vuestra saña no es borrada,
A la par con la vida en ella habita.
Bien me podéis vos dar pena infinita:
Amor os da el poder como le agrada;
Mas excusar que no seáis amada
De mí, con tal beldad, ¿quién me lo quita?
Aborrecerme vos podéis, Señora,
Afecto tan contrario al ardor mío,
Y aun desearme, si queréis, la muerte;
Mas que no os ame esta alma que os adora,
Ni vos ni vuestra saña, yo lo fío,
Podéis borrar lo que me cupo en suerte.

Two stanzas of *cant* LXIV are included in substance in Cetina's sonnet XC.[18] March, verses 1–16:

[18] Both Hazañas y la Rúa and Pagès noted this fact. See *Obras de Gutierre de Cetina*, Vol. I, p. 81; and *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 417.

Lo temps es tal que tot animal brut
requer amor, cascú trobant son par.
Lo cervo brau sent en lo bosch bramar,
e son ferm bram per dolç cant es tengut.
Agrons e corps han melodia tanta
que llur semblant delitant enamora.
Lo rossinyol de tal cas s' entrenyora,
si lo seu cant sa 'namorada 'spanta,

E donchs, si 'm dolch, lo dolrre m'es degut
com veig amats menys de poder amar;
e lo grosser per apte veig passar:
Amor lo fa esser no conegut.
E d'açò 'm ve piadosa complanta
com Desamor exorba ma ssenyora,
no conexent lo servent qui l'adora,
ne vol penssar qual es s'amor ne quanta.

Cetina's rendering of these ideas is not quite a translation:

El tiempo es tal, que cualquier fiera agora
Ama su igual y por él llora o canta;
Muestra el ciervo en bramar fiereza tanta,
Mas a la cierva es dulce y la enamora.
La ronca voz del ciervo de hora en hora
Cualquier dureza de su par quebranta,
Y el triste ruiseñor su amiga espanta,
Por lo cual se lamenta, aflige y llora.
Si yo me quejo, la razón me sobra;
Pues ni tener respeto al ser constante
Vale, ni tanto amor a ser amado.
Amor lo hace y muestra bien ser obra
Suya hacer que valga un ignorante
Dichoso más que un cuerdo desdichado.

Cant LXV recites the struggle between "Ira" and "Amor" within the afflicted lover's breast. His only hope of salvation lies in finding some one else to whom to transfer his affections. He thinks with pleasure that perhaps old age will permit him to escape from love's dominion.

In the first stanza the poet is so fearful that he does not

even dare to ask of pain a respite, so that he may have time to lament, but hopes that if his anxiety ever ceases, and strength returns to his languishing heart, his sufferings will be properly appreciated. Thus:

No so gosat en demanar mercè
a ma dolor que del tot m'abandon:
un poch espay la prech de temps que 'm don
a poder dir lo mal que d'ella 'm ve;
e, si mon cor en sa força retorn
y el torbament de l'enteniment pert,
porà saber qui d'amor no es cert
Ira y Amor com dins mi han contorn.

Cetina identified these metaphysical musings as expressions of his own perturbed mental state. Sonnet LXXIII:

Del dulce fuego que en el pecho me arde
No sé cómo decir que estoy quejoso,
Ni en medio del ardor fiero, rabioso,
Sé de quién fíe, ni de quién me guarde.
Contra la ley de Amor soy tan cobarde,
Que aun al mismo dolor pedir no oso
Tanto tiempo de venia y de reposo,
Que me pueda quejar, aunque es ya tarde,
Pero si, a dicha, alcanzo tanta suerte,
Que la turbación pierda del sentido,
Y al corazón torna el valor osado,
Aún espero, Señora, que el sonido
Del triste lamentar podrá moverte
A piedad de haberme maltratado.

Thus, as frequently, Cetina borrowed ideas from March, and clothed them in different language. Closer verbal similarity is found in his adaptation of other verses of *cant* LXV, in which he gives a personal turn to March's abstractions. March, verses 7–16, and 33–40:

porà saber qui d'amor no es cert
Ira y Amor com dins me han contorn.

Si·com l'om cech no coneix nit ne jorn,
si dels vehents ell no es avisat,
d'Ira y Amor no ssé qual m'a ssobrat:
haja 'n avis dels qui m'estan en torn!
Yo desig molt qu'Amor m'abandonas,
car sola es la causa de mon mal,
mas de poder Yra no té cabal
qu' encontr' Amor yo tant me rebellas.

Plagues a Deu qu'ab mi mateix fes pau,
mi accordant ab cor ferm a la mort!
Yo mir e pens si 'l mon ha cas tan fort,
com de Amor e d'Ira sser esclau.
Afany té sats l'om dos senyors sirvent,
e quant mes donchs essent ells enemichs;
quant hu complach, l'altr' es vers mi inichs:
no ssé com bast complaure 'lls egualment.

Cetina, sonnet CXIX:

Ira y Amor me están dentro del pecho,
Y cada cual me causa un mal extraño.
El Amor fué principio del engaño;
Después, del mismo Amor nació el despecho.
Deseo aborrecer por mi provecho,
Visto que del Amor me viene el daño;
Mas no basta la ira en mal tamaño
El nudo deshacer que Amor ha hecho.
Ira me mueve a ser vuestro enemigo
Y muéstrame razón porque lo sea;
Mas ¿ qué vale, si Amor a amar me tira?
Y así, mientras los dos tratan conmigo,
Es fuerza que la triste alma se vea
Siendo esclava de Amor sujeta de ira.

Cetina appears to have shared March's obsession of fear of disease and death, and this seems to have determined his choice of a stanza as the basis for his sonnet L.

Cant LXVI, *Algú no pot haver en si poder*, verses 25–32:

Si col malalt de viure té fermança
per alguns mals que familiars té,
si algun mal d'altr' accident li ve,

en por de mort l'imaginar lo lança,
ne pren a mi que m'era ja no res
lo mal d'Amor, vivint sobre aquell,
e, per mal nou, a morir vinch per ell,
per no ser tal e com molt major es.

It will be noticed that in his version Cetina reverses the order, in describing the resemblance of physical suffering to the anguish of love:

Contento con el mal de amor vivía,
Habiendo el alma en él hábito hecho;
Su daño principal ni su provecho
No me alteraba ya ni lo sentía.
Hora ha querido la desdicha mía
Con otro nuevo mal herirme el pecho;
Este me desbarata y me ha deshecho,
Mientras menos del otro me temía.
Como enfermo que está ya confiado
Que no puede morir de un mal que tiene,
Por haberse en el uso así guardado,
Cualquier nuevo accidente que le viene
Diferente de aquel que había pensado,
Le hace recelar más que conviene.

Amédée Pagès first noted that Cetina's second madrigal in the edition of Hazañas y la Rúa was derived from *cant* LXIX.[19] The two poets are here quoted in order to afford an opportunity for comparison.

Clar es e molt a tots los amadors, verses 41–56:

No trob en mi poder dir ma tristor,
e de açò n'ensurt un gran debat:
Lo meu Cor diu que no n'es enculpat,
car del parlar la Lengua n'é senyor.
La Lengua diu qu' ella be ho dirà,
mas que la por del Cor força li tol,
que sens profit està, com parlar vol,
e, si ho fa, que balbucitarà.

[19] *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 417.

Per esta por vana la penssa 'stà
sens dar consell per execució.
No es senyor en tal cas la Rahó;
l'orgue del cors desbaratat està.
La ma no pot suplir en lo seu cas,
mou-se lo peu no sabent lo perquè;
tremolament per tots los membres ve,
per que la sanch acorre al pus llas.

Cetina's adaptation follows the same order of arrangement. The first seventeen lines are from the first stanza above, and the remaining part, except the last three lines, which are his own and add little, from the second stanza:

¡Ay, qué contraste fiero,
Señora, hay entre el alma y los sentidos,
Por decir que os doláis de los gemidos!
Ninguno de ellos osa:
Cada cual se acobarda y se le excusa
Al alma deseosa,
Que de su turbación la lengua acusa.
Ella dice confusa
Que os dirá el dolor mío,
Si la deja el temor de algún desvío;
Pero de un miedo frío
La cansa el corazón, y de turbada,
Cuando algo va a decir, no dice nada.
Al corazón no agrada
La excusa, y dice que es della la mengua;
Que el quejarse es efecto de la lengua
El uno al otro amengua;
El vano pensamiento
No sabe dar consejo al desaliento.
La razón sierva siento,
Que solía un tiempo entre ellos ser señora
Y el esfuerzo enflaquece de hora en hora.
La mano no usa agora
Del medio que solía;
Que el temor la acobarda y la desvía.
La sangre corre fría
A la parte más flaca, y, de turbado,

El triste cuerpo tiembla, y suda helado.
¡Ay, rabioso cuidado!
Pues si el alma contrasta a los sentidos,
¿Quién dirá que os doláis de mis gemidos?

The first stanza of *cant* LXXV was freely translated by Cetina in his sonnet LVIII:

Qui es aquell qui en Amor contemple,
com yo qui sent sos delits on abasten?
Qui son aquells qui dolç' amargor tasten,
e, juntes mans, l'adoren fora temple?
Yo so tot sol a qui Natura 'streny
a no poder als fer ne pus entendre
sino amar; e, volent m'en defendre,
no 'm vol seguir a res als fer null seny.

¿Cuál hombre fué jamás tan sin sentido,
Que si entiende de Amor el dulce estado,
Viendo en claros ejemplos lo pasado
Quiera seguir su bando o su partido?
Yo sólo soy a quien el hado ha sido
Tan contrario, que siendo destinado
A amar, sabiendo el daño, soy forzado
Quedar si me defiendo al fin vencido.
Si trabajo tal vez por alegrarme,
Como cosa contraria al mal que siento,
Luego se ve lo falso descubierto;
Si en otro que en Amor quiero ocuparme,
El hábito que ha hecho el pensamiento
Hace lo más dudoso en mí más cierto.

The third stanza of *cant* LXXVIII, *No guart avant ne membre lo passat*, suited one of the brighter moods of our poet.

Mon pensament es en vos mes qu' en mi,
e mon delit per vos passa primer.
Jamés aquell ans que vos yo sentí,
ma voluntat a mi troba derrer.
Yo son content, si veig contenta vos,
e tant en mi aquest desig es gran
que 'l sentiment es perdut de mon cos,
fins que 'l voler vostre 's va sadollan.

Amplification of the terse Catalan, we may believe, was not difficult for Cetina: (sonnet CCXXIII),

Tan puesto tengo en vos el pensamiento,
Que ya ni pienso en mí, ni pensar quiero.
Si tengo bien, por vos pasa primero;
De vos viene, si tengo algún tormento.
Hace mi voluntad su fundamento
En la vuestra, y recíbela por fuero:
En mi propio querer soy el postrero:
Sólo lo que queréis quiero y consiento.
Si alegre os veo a vos, luego me alegro;
Si tristeza tenéis, luego estoy triste;
Si os volvéis a alegrar, vuelvo a alegrarme.
Lo negro es blanco y lo más blanco es negro,
Como queréis: luego el alma viste
El afecto que vos queréis mostrarme.

Auzias March often draws upon experiences at sea, and the perils of the sailor, and Cetina does likewise in some eight sonnets. The following is, however, the only clear case of borrowing. Compare *cant* LXXXI, Sparça:

Axí com cell qui 's veu prop de la mort,
corrent mal temps, perillant en la mar,
e veu lo loch on se pot restaurar,
e no 'y ateny per sa malvada sort,
ne pren a me, qui vaig affanys passant,
e veig a vos bastant mos mals delir.
Desesperat de mos desigs complir,
iré pel mon vostr' ergull recitant.

with Cetina's free translation (sonnet LII):

Corre con tempestad furiosa y fuerte
El más cuerdo piloto, el más experto,
Y en viendo cerca el deseado puerto,
El miedo en esperanza se convierte;
Mas queriendo surgir la mala suerte,
Los torna con extraño desconcierto;
Sale un viento cruel, contrario, incierto,

Que atrás lo vuelve a recelar la muerte.
Así yo, en la fortuna del deseo,
A vos vengo, que sois el puerto mío,
Donde de tanto mal pienso salvarme;
Mas ¡ay, hado crüel! que apena os veo
Cuando el contrario viento de un desvío
Hace que en el dolor vuelva a engolfarme.

Cant LXXXVII, *Tot entenent amador me entenga*, discusses at length the three kinds of love: the carnal, the natural, which is of the spirit as well as of the flesh, and the purely spiritual or celestial. The last, the ideal love, women disdain, according to March. Cetina, less interested than his model in intellectual subtleties, and more concerned with the expression of his own personal feelings and experiences, selected only one stanza (verses 131–140) from this poem:

Per nostres ulls l'om d'est' amor s'enflama,
toch desijant d'on voler creix o fina;
temprat esper la voluntat afina,
e, perdut ell, Amor de Mort se clama
son fill e net, son desig y esperança!
Mas prop los vé Paor qui 'lls fa gran brega.
Tals passions amador no les nega.
Aquest' amor cau en esta balança.
Cascú d'aquests a l'altre vencre tenta,
e, si 'u compleix, Amor e si destenta.

His rendering of the ideas of the stanza amounts almost to translation: (sonnet CLXX),

Por los ojos Amor entra y derrama
En el alma un ardor que la enflaquece;
El ansia del gozar fuego parece;
Templada obstinación su fuerza trama.
De un hijo que Amor tiene, el cual se llama
Deseo, la Esperanza nace y crece;
Mas contra el hijo y nieta el hado ofrece
Un bastardo temor que los desama.
El fin que amor pretende es ser amado;
Temor, que ningún bien del padre alcanza,

Viene contra los dos acompañado
De enojos, de sospechas, de mudanza,
Desdén, ingratitud, celos, cuidado,
Armado de mortal desconfianza.

A stanza from *cant* LXXXVIII, *Malament viu qui delit pert de viure*, found its way in substance into the poetry of Cetina. Compare verses 41–48:

Encontr' amor vostre cor a 'rmadura
e per tots temps ab la rahó 's consella.
Si no amau, no es gran maravella,
car poc' amor no viu on seny atura.
Si passions d'amor dins vos jutgassen,
fosseu del seny quantsevol consellada.
La voluntat de dona 'namorada
no troba frens aquella refrenassen.

with Cetina's sonnet CXCV:

Si contra Amor, Señora, estáis armada
De aquel frío saber que amor contiende,
Si os guía la razón, si ella os defiende,
No es gran caso no estar enamorada.
De poco amor Amor se desagrada;
No puede Amor crecer do el seso entiende;
Si el juicio gobierna, Amor se ofende;
Do no hay pasión, Amor no puede nada.
Pero si permitiese el hado mío,
Cosa que podría ser, que amor hallase
Entrada en ese pecho de diamante,
A pagar de mi alma aquel *desio*,
En blando consentir se transformase:
¿Qué freno hay que tener pueda un amante?

It will be observed, in comparing the last lines of these versions, that Cetina has transferred to the lover—or to himself—the possession of unbridled love. March occasionally represents women as the tempters of men; not so Cetina, who prefers to think of them always as sought after by more or less despairing lovers, and never as actually seeking love themselves.

The *cant* following next in order, LXXXIX, *Cervo ferit no desija la font*, furnished to Cetina the material for two sonnets. The first of these is plainly from the stanza including verses 33–36:

Noves de vos saber mortalment tem,
dubtant-me fort que no 'y mostreu amor.
Per no saber visch en altra dolor.
No sse de qual costat guart que no 'm crem.

Cetina's tercets, developing verse 36 above, may have been suggested by personal experiences in the army. Sonnet CLXXXV:

Sabe Dios si saber de vos deseo,
Y témolo saber más que la muerte:
Ved, Señora, cuál es mi mala suerte;
De qué contrarios tormentar me veo.
De no saber de vos tal mal poseo,
Que en fiera rabia el desear convierte;
Y por no saber nunca en qué no acierte,
El triste desear huyo y rodeo.
Así, el que ve la nave irse abrasando,
Estando dentro en ella en la batalla,
Modo para salvarse anda buscando;
Mas doquiera que va, su muerte halla:
El enemigo, el contrastar nadando,
Y en la nave ella viene sin buscalla.

The second sonnet (CXCVI) inspired by this *cant* derives its origin from verses 49–56:

Si tant de vos com voleu no confiu,
mon gran voler me porta 'n aquest zel.
De vostre cors no tem lo pus prim pel
qu' encontra mi res fes, ne 'm fos altiu.
La voluntat vull que pas tota 'n mi:
yo so celós, si molt amau a Deu.
Dant vos delit sens mi, lo mal creix meu,
quant vos dolgués, de mal vostre 'm dolgui.

Cetina makes use of all of this stanza, including the assertion that he is jealous even of the love of his mistress for God:

Si de amor y de vos tan poco fío,
Del amor y de vos nace este celo:
De vuestra honestidad nada recelo;
Menor es contra vos mi desvarío.
Que vuestra voluntad me dé un desvío
Hace que tema Amor; dél nace un celo
Tal, que vengo a temer si amáis al cielo.
¡Ved hasta dónde llega el miedo mío!
Jamás tuve de vos una sospecha,
Ya que tenella cierta es imposible,
Ni cosa deseé que otros desean.
Que con mi voluntad la vuestra estrecha
Estuviese deseo, y, si es posible,
Tan juntas que las dos un alma sean.

Cant XCI, *En aquell temps sentí d'Amor delit*, deals with the unstable nature of love, whose strength, indeed, lies in the very struggles and vicissitudes it brings. Cetina's sonnet XLI is a composite of ideas occurring in the following verses of this *cant*: 25–32,

Si com lo jorn va primer que la nit,
e d'ella es hun cert demostrament,
va lo delit d'Amor primerament;
dolor aprés no 'l vol haver jaquit,
havent poder de tota res delir
que ab sa llet dolça delit nodrí:
tot ço que naix delit ho consentí
e corromp ssi per estrem dolorir.

17–24,

Lo desijat pler se volta 'n despit.
No té loch ferm d'Amor lo sentiment;
sos torns e vist assats complidament,
e veig aquell de mil colors vestit.
Detras ell va continuu penedir:
tal seguidor no 'l viu, mentre 'l seguí.
Ab los ulls cluchs detras sos peus aní,
guiant m'en part on tart pogui exir.

65–68,

Tot mudament es verament fallit
e d'Amor es lo seu sosteniment,
car de rres l'om no pot esser content,
si 'n hun estat Amor lo té 'stablit. . . .

Cetina:

Como la obscura noche al claro día
Sigue con inefable movimiento,
Así sigue al contento el descontento
De amor, y a la tristeza la alegría.
Sigue al breve gozar luenga porfía;
Al dulce imaginar sigue el tormento,
Y al alcanzado bien el sentimiento
Del perdido favor que lo desvía.
De contrarios está su fuerza hecha,
Sus tormentas he visto y sus bonanzas
Y nada puedo ver que me castigue.
Ya sé quê es lo que daña y aprovecha:
Mas, ¿cómo excusará tantas mudanzas
Quien ciego tras un ciego a ciegas sigue?

Verses 73–80 of March's *cant* XCIII, *Qui ser' aquell del mon superior*, repeat his never-ending theme of joy in pain. This time it is the thought of his lost love in which both good and ill are mingled. The remembrance of past joys is more enduring than that of sorrows, and therefore his tears do not flow forever.

E, si tots temps en continuu no plor,
de mon recort aquella no 'm partesch,
ans vull que 'l dol me leixque, si 'l jaquesch:
mon sentiment vull que muyra, si mor.
Puys que delit a ma dolor segueix,
ingrat seré, si ella no m'acost:
tal sentiment de mal e be compost,
temps minva 'l mal, e lo be tots jorns creix.

There can be no doubt of the connection between the above and sonnet CXLVI of Cetina:

No es falta de dolor faltarme el llanto,
Antes dulce memoria enamorada;
Que mientras contemplando está ocupada,
Del usado llorar se deja al cuanto.
Estoy deste mi mal pagado tanto,
Por la gloria que entre él viene mezclada,
Que mi propio sentir me desagrada

Si la fuerza del mal le causa espanto.
Así viene el dolor a adelgazarse;
Así el mal se transforma y se enajena,
Y hace que del llanto el uso pierda.
Mas ¿quién podrá, señor, desagradarse
Del mal que tanto bien causa y ordena,
Ni llorar mientra en él piensa y se acuerda?

Instances have before been indicated (pp. 28 and 30) of Cetina's use of borrowed material to adorn his style in sonnets addressed to historical personages. Another such instance may be observed in his sonnet LXIV to D. Juan de Rojas Sarmiento. March wrote, *cant* XCIV, *Puys me trob sol en amor, a mi semala*, verses 25–32:

Axí com l'or que de la mena 'l traen
està mesclat de altres metalls sutzeus,
e, mes al foch, en fum se 'n va la liga,
lexant l'or pur, no podent-se corrompre;
axí la Mort mon voler gros termena:
aquell fermat en la part contrassemble
d'aquella que la Mort al mon l'a tolta,
l'onest voler en mi roman sens mescla.

Cetina takes the first four lines, and discards the rest as not suited to his purpose:

Cuando oro bajo y de grosera mina
Suele hallar tal vez minero experto,
Si con otro metal sale cubierto
Al fuego lo consagra y lo destina;
Allí se purifica, allí se afina,
Allí descubre su valor más cierto;
Si dél acaso está dudoso, incierto,
El fuego lo quilata y determina.
Yo, que, a pesar de Febo y de Parnaso,
De Helicona hallé, no digo vena,
Mas cierto humor peor que de locura,
Para saber si debo dar más paso
En seguilla, o dejar tan loca pena,
Consagro al fuego vuestro esta escritura.

It is seen that he completes the simile in a fashion totally different from that employed by his model; and it will no doubt be agreed that he has made such a clever adaptation of the borrowed idea as almost to legitimize his use of it.

The last two instances above of borrowing are from *cants* in which March laments the death of his lady. No such theme, of course, was in Cetina's mind during the composition of either of these poems. They do, however, maintain the serious spirit of their originals, and they are obvious illustrations of our poet's habit of ornamenting his language with borrowed ideas that appealed to him from whatever source they might be derived.

Cant XCIX, *Aquesta es perdurable dolor*, is unquestionably the source of Cetina's sonnet CLXXVIII. Compare verses 33–40 of the former,

> On cab en mi tan gran alterament,
> si por me pren per qu' esperança 'm vol?
> Que es açò que voluntat me tol
> qu' en be ne mal no hus d'enteniment?
> O fals Amor, qui 'l loch vedat te plau,
> lexa m'usar a qui 'm mereix desdeny.
> Per que 'l desig teu amar me costreny
> ço que amar a mi tant me desplau?

with Cetina's adaptation:

> ¿Qué alteración es ésta, Amor, que siento?
> ¿De dónde viene en mí tan gran mudanza?
> Si muero de temor, esta esperanza
> Que tengo, ¿sobre qué funda su asiento?
> Si no quiero mi mal, ni lo consiento,
> ¿Por qué tengo del bien desconfianza?
> Si el uso de razón el seso alcanza,
> ¿Cómo se ciega así el entendimiento?
> Y si una mutación tan repentina
> Natura la aborrece, ¿cómo vivo?
> Un sujeto tan flaco, ¿en qué se esfuerza?
> Mas ¡ay! que pues tormenta tan contina
> No se amansa, es señal que el hado esquivo
> Quiere mostrar en mí toda su fuerza.

To express his love for Amaríllida, Cetina again borrows from March. The latter had written in his *cant* CII, *Qual ser' aquell que fora sí mateix*, verses 137–144:

Foch crem ma carn, e lo fum per ensens
vaj' als dampnats per condigne perfum!
Mon espirit trespas de Lete 'l flum
per que de res de aquest mon no pens,
car, per haver delit, dolor atench,
puys ne vull mes que lo toch no 'm promet!
Passant avant, mon delit es desfet,
e pas dolor fins que aquell restrench.

Cetina applies the first four lines to the formation of his first quatrain, and upon the latter builds the remainder of his sonnet (CIX):

Fuego queme mi carne y por incienso
Baje el humo a las almas del infierno;
Pase la mía aquel olvido eterno
De Lethe, por que pierda el bien que pienso.
El fiero ardor, que ora me abrasa intenso,
Ni melle corazón ni haga tierno;
Niégueme pïedad, favor, gobierno,
El mundo, Amor, y el sumo Dios inmenso.
Mi vivir sea enojoso y trabajado,
En estrecha prisión dura y forzosa,
Siempre de libertad desesperado.
Si viviendo no espero ya ver cosa
—Dijo Vandalio—y con verdad jurado
Que sea cual Amaríllida hermosa.

The same *cant* at another point (verses 153–160) furnishes the basis for another of Cetina's sonnets. Compare

Tot quant yo pens me porta passions,
e sens penssar poch delit s'aconsech:
Menys que d'un bou lo meu delit conech,
car mentre 'l prench lo 'm torben passions.
Car tant com es plaent e de mon punt,
d'aquell delit una dolor m'en ve,
penssant qu' en tal ab l'altr' ella vengué,
e que 'y vendrà, si no li so ajunt.

with Cetina's version, amplifying the stanza to the proportions of a sonnet (LXV):

Cuanto pienso me da dolor doblado;
Ningûn pensar me da contentamiento;
Ni fuera de pensar deleite siento,
Ni sé entenderme a mí ni a mi cuidado.
Entre mi mal el bien viene mezclado;
Ni lo sé conocer, ni tomar tiento;
Que en gustando del bien el sentimiento,
O se convierte en mal, o ya es pasado.
En medio del deleite llega luego
El recelo del mal, considerando
Que es un tal bien un poco de agua al fuego.
Así el monstruo marino está llorando
Mientra el cielo y el mar muestran sosiego,
De futura tormenta recelando.

We next find a source for Cetina in *cant* CVIII, *No 'm clam d'algú qu'en mon mal haja colpa.* Verses 81–88 of that composition are as follows:

Pus facilment yo crech que l'hom atengua
tolrre 's desig qu' en aquel metre terme.
Qual es aquel qu' en loch llenegant ferme
son peu, que tost en terra no s' estengua?
Donchs, qui d'Amor segurament vol viure,
los mouiments ab fermes rahons tolga;
e, qui d'açò no es bastant, s'estolga:
mes prop li es lo plorar que lo riure.

Cetina (sonnet CXXX) adapts these lines to his specific purpose, removing their sentiments somewhat from the realm of abstraction:

Más fácil es, Señora, el abstenerse
De desear, a un hombre enamorado,
Que después que algún tiempo ha deseado
Medida al desear pueda ponerse.
Puede uno rehusar, puede tenerse
De no entrar en lugar que viere helado;
Mas si una vez entró, después de entrado,

No es en él esperar ni detenerse.
Bien pudiera no os ver cuando no os vía;
No viéndoos, no os amara; y no os amando,
No deseara el bien que hora deseo.
Mas después de sujeta el alma mía,
Amor que me sostiene deseando
No consiente poner freno al deseo.

Cant CIX furnishes matter for another sonnet. The initial stanza of the Catalan,

Dona, si 'us am, no 'm graescau amor;
aquella part de que yo so forçat.
Grahiu a Deu qui 'us ha tal cors forjat
que altre cors no bast' a sa valor,
bell, ab gran gest, portant un espirit
tan amplament que no 'l té presoner,
mas com senyor usant de son poder,
tenint estret davall sí l'apetit.

is, in its central theme, the source of the two quatrains of Cetina's sonnet CCXI:

Si os amo, si os he amado, si he de amaros
Más que es o fué mujer ni será amada,
No me lo agredezcáis: ni os pido nada,
Ni vale el ardor mío para obligaros.
Aquél que tantas partes quiso daros
Cubiertas de beldad tan extremada,
A sólo aquél podéis ser obligada,
Que puso tanto en vos para adoraros.
No puedo yo llamarme en esto a engaño:
Muy claro ví el camino de perderme,
Tanto, que agora me parece extraño.
Lo que vos no podéis negar de verme
Es que entendí al principio el desengaño
Y no quise, aunque pude, defenderme.

Next is an obvious translation of verses 17–24 of March's *Là so atès d'on so volgut fugir* (*cant* CX):

Si col senglar que devala del munt
pells cans petits qui no 'l basten matar,
e baix' al pla on veu alans estar:
vol e no pot tornar del pla 'n amunt,
ne pren a mi qui, per fogir mal poch,
caych en les mans de dolor sens remey,
perpetual, sens mudar esta ley,
ans crexerà com en loch dispost foch.

Cetina adapts as follows (sonnet CXVI):

Huyendo baja el monte aquella fiera
Que de pequeños canes es seguida,
Y apenas en lo llano ya es venida,
Que no puede volver donde partiera,
En otros da mayores, do cualquiera
La aprieta y le podría quitar la vida;
De êstos es peligrosa la salida;
De otros sin peligro se saliera.
Así, huyendo de los viejos males,
Pequeños en respecto a los de ahora,
En otros más crüeles he caído,
Y tanto en el peligro desiguales,
Cuanto siendo por vos estoy, Señora,
Cierto de no volver donde he salido.

March wrote, *cant* CXV, verses 1–10:

Puys me penit, senyal es cert que baste
per a saber l'error de que 'm vull tolrre:
mas qui 'm darà esforç contra lo dolrre,
per a jaquir lo delit que yo 'n taste?
Per ma rahó yo venguí 'n conexença
qu' en ser amat no 'm calia fer compte,
mas ab Amor yo n'e fet ja l'afronte:
complidament he vist la 'sperença.
La mi' amor un' altr' a sí no 'n tira:
lo dret d'Amor en mi tot se regira.

Cetina translated (sonnet CXI):

Gran señal es el ver que me arrepiento,
Para pensar que ya conozco el daño;

Pues me quiero apartar de un mal tamaño,
Señal es que lo entiendo y que lo siento.
Mas ¿quién me dará, Amor, atrevimiento?
¿Quién me dará un esfuerzo tan extraño,
Que aquel gesto sabroso del engaño
Pueda desarraigar del sentimiento?
Tanta luz de razón razón me ha dado,
Que conozco el error y el desvarío
Del que pretende amando ser amado.
Mas tiene tanta fuerza el ardor mío,
Que aunque conozco bien que voy errado,
Del camino que voy no me desvío.

The second stanza of March's poem continues:

Puys altr' amor per la mia no guanye,
la qual es preu per hon Amor se guanya,
per ser vencent no sabí altra manya:
perdut es ja tot quant per ell affanye.
Si com aquell qui viu ab medicina
e ve per temps que no li val al viure,
axí muyr yo, qu' Amor, qui 'm feya viure,
altre voler per lo meu no s'inclina.
Puys no pot fer que amant amat sia,
lexe-m 'en pau; no torb la vida mia.

Cetina's adaptation runs (sonnet XII):

Amor, si por amar amor aquista,
Si alguna fe de tanta fe procede,
Si premio por servir ganar se puede,
Si un grave padecer mi alma contrista;
Si dura obstinación venció conquista,
Si pidiendo merced dureza cede,
Si a grande mal piedad se le concede,
Si a luengo importunar no hay quien resista;
Si de tu mano escrito ya en la frente
Lo que siento en el alma al mundo muestro,
Debría mi dolor hallar remedio.
Mas ¡ay! ni podrá ser, ni lo consiente
Mi mal, si por algún caso siniestro
No muestra a tu pesar fortuna el medio.

There was also material for Cetina in the following *cant* (CXVI), *Cert es de mi que no me 'n cal fer compte.* The verses chosen are 131–140:

Axí com es en nos l'anima tota
en tot lo cos, e tota 'n cascun membre;
tallant algú, no cal per aço tembre
que per aquell ella romanga rota:
la mi' amor es en lo tot d'aquesta,
e, si 'l veig res que per desalt m'altere,
no sent en mi que d'amor despodere.
En lo seu tot la mia tota resta,
si com la mar un punt no se 'n altera,
si hom ne trau una gran albufera.

Cetina clearly translates (sonnet XXXIX):

Como está el alma a nuestra carne unida,
En los miembros las partes igualmente,
Y como cada miembro el alma siente
Entera en sí y en todas repartida,
Y como si una parte es dividida
Del cuerpo por algún inconveniente,
El alma queda entera y tan potente
Cual siempre, sin que pueda ser partida,
Así el amor en mí no se acrecienta
Por más favor, ni cuanto más padece
El triste corazón muda el estado.
Muéstrase Amor en mí como tormenta
De mar, que cuando más con furia crece,
Su término no pasa limitado.

The next comparison concerns Cetina's *canción* VIII, suggestions for which lie evidently in March's *cant* CXVII. Cetina has not translated, nor even consecutively followed the Catalan poem, but seems to have leaned upon March here and there for support, re-reading perhaps his original when inspiration failed. Especially to be noted are the two following "rapprochements," which appear convincing without further testimony.

March, verses 1–6:

Lo cinquen peu del moltó ab gran cura
yo he cercat, e no 'n té sino quatre,
volenç' honest' en amor desonesta,
e lealtat en cor de falsa fembra;
e per amor he volgut ser alegre
menys de sser trist, e ferm en un proposit. . . .

Cetina, verses 1–14:

Lo que buscaba tengo;
Y si no lo buscaba ni quería,
Tengo lo que merece aquel que busca;
Lo que hora ni a buscar ni a querer vengo.
No me quejo de amor; que no sería
Razón, pues su pasión el seso ofusca;
De mí sí, que, de mozo y de liviano,
En corazón mal sano
Buscaba el mío salud, y en deshonesto
Amor, honestidad, lëaltad pura
En ánimo de hembra a mudar presto.
Estaba en llorar puesto
Firmeza do jamás firmeza dura:
¡Ved si llegaba a puesto mi locura!

March, verses 17–20:

L'engan conech, mas per obra no 'l mostre,
puys que d'amor del tot yo no 'm despulle.
Flux me penit, car dolor no m'agreuja:
solament bast ahirar-mi, si ame. . . .

Cetina, verses 15–24:

Ya entiendo el daño mío;
Ya conozco, aunque tarde, el desengaño
Y no muestro entendello, aunque lo entiendo;
Pues ni me salgo dél ni me desvío.
No es este arrepentir conforme al daño,
Pues que ni huyo dél, ni me defiendo,
Ni puedo más hacer, salvo enojarme,
Porque amar, desamarme,
Llegar alguna vez a arrepentirme,
Y aun casi a aborrecer, mas¿ qué aprovecha, . . .

Coming now finally to *cant* CXXIII, *Mentre d'Amor sentí sa passió*, we find the last important case of borrowing from March by Cetina that the present writer has noted. The stanza is the first of the poem:

Mentre d'Amor sentí sa passió;
d'ell no haguí algun coneximent.
Quant he perdut d'aquell lo sentiment,
yo bast' assats donar d'ell gran rahó.
Per son esguart he vist sa qualitat,
e com d'onest té poch e profitós,
e com està 'n l'apetit cobejós,
e de l'irós com s'en ampra forçat.

Cetina's sonnet is quite similar both in thought and wording. He inserts, however, the saving expression of his belief that love "Ni puede ser del todo detestable" and asserts that "No es poco bien quedar escarmentado." Sonnet CLIII:

No puede un corazón apasionado
Claro tener de Amor conocimiento;
Mas si la pasión cesa, el sentimiento
Puede bien hablar dél como avisado.
Yo sé decir quién es: que lo he probado;
Toda su calidad entiendo y siento,
Y si artero no soy del escarmiento,
No es poco bien quedar escarmentado.
Jamás ví amor honesto o provechoso,
Ni puede ser del todo detestable
Naciendo de apetito codicioso;
Porque si la esperanza no es estable,
Si el trabajo es más cierto que el reposo,
¿Qué deleite dará que sea durable?

V

Conclusion

It has now been shown that the poetic work of Auzias March is the source of no less than thirty-five sonnets and two *canciones* of Cetina, in addition to four sonnets and a madrigal previously identified by Hazañas y la Rúa and Pagès as inspired by March's verses. We thus have before us the remarkable total of thirty-nine sonnets, two *canciones*, and a madrigal from the Catalan, as against twenty-four sonnets,[1] two *canciones*, a *capítulo*, a madrigal, two *estancias* and a *sextina* (these last of little importance) from the Italian.[2]

In the matter of formal imitation Cetina followed the Italians, and not March, not alone as regards the technical details of metrical structure, but also in respect to the adaptation of measure for measure, and in the utilization of rhyme words. It was natural that this should be the case, since it was the avowed purpose of the school of poets with whom Cetina had identified himself to employ the forms of Italian verse, and because also of the close affinity of the Castilian with the Italian language.

When poets borrow ideas or forms the opening lines of their compositions are generally either identical to those of their sources, or at least betray definite relationship to them. In songs such relationship is of course necessary as indication of the original melody. The question must remain open for the present as to whether or not Cetina's poems were written to be sung,[3] but whatever be the answer to this question, the phenomenon of first-line parallelism, leaving out of consideration the matter of rhythm,[4] is in evidence throughout Cetina's

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[1] One of the twenty-four (No. CLXXX) is from an *unidentified* Italian sonnet.

[2] These figures do not take into account the thirty-three pages of translation from the *Heroides* of Ovid, and the two sonnets of Latin inspiration.

[3] It has been generally accepted that the sonnets of the time, at least, were not accompanied by music, but there has never been, so far as the present writer is aware, any thorough discussion of the subject.

[4] On the surface it would appear that there was no rhythmic relation between March's decasyllabic verses and the hendecasyllables of Cetina, but without an understanding of the melody upon which the Catalan strophes were based the matter cannot be arbitrarily decided

borrowings, whether they are from the Catalan or the Italian.

However, to consider only our poet's sonnets, out of thirty-nine occasions of inspiration, adaptation, or translation from March, only eight correspondences of first-line rhyme words are observed, while for twenty-three identified Italian sources there are ten such correspondences. That is to say, approximately one-fifth of the sonnets inspired by March's verses show this initial rhyme correspondence as contrasted with more than two-fifths of those which proceed from the Italian. If now we consider the initial lines without reference to rhyme, we notice that twelve of the Catalan sources show no conclusively definite first-line relation of any kind with their Castilian counterparts, while only five of the Italian sources fail to show such relation. Consequently, from this point of view also there is closer formal similarity between Cetina and the Italians than between Cetina and the Catalan.

His close adherence to many of his Italian sources in the matter of form is rendered still more conspicuous by a detailed survey of his use of the rhyme words of Italian and Catalan models. The following are the only cases found (quite numerous, it is true, for a poet) of appropriation by Cetina of rhyme words from March:

March XV, 1, 4,	guardat, preat,
Cetina CCXVII, 1, 5,	guardado, estimado.
March XV, 19,	zel.
Cetina XXXIII, 6,	celo.
March XXVII, 6,	partit.
Cetina CCXXXV, 10,	partida.
March XXVII, 34,	ajuda.
Cetina LXVII, 3,	ayudado.
March XXXVII, 13,	desperta.
Cetina CLXXXIV, 3,	despierta.

March XLVIII, 9, 12, comportar, contentar.
Cetina CCVIII, 2, 4, comportase, contento.

March LVII, 1, 4, mort, sort.
Cetina CCXXVII, 2, 7, muerte, suerte.

March LIX, 1, 4, cert, cubert.
Cetina XXXVII, 1, 4, cierto, descubierto.

March LXII, 49, 50, escrita, raure.
Cetina CIV, 1, 3, escrita, borrada.

March LXIV, 5, 6, 7, 8, tanta, enamora, s'entrenyora, 'spanta.
Cetina XC, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, agora, canta, tanta, enamora, hora, quebranta, espanta, llora.

March LXVI, 26, 27, té, ve.
Cetina L, 10, 12, tiene, viene.

March LXXVIII, 18, 20, primer, derrer.
Cetina CCXXIII, 3, 7, primero, postrero.

March LXXXI, 1, 4, mort, sort.
Cetina LII, 5, 8, suerte, muerte.

March LXXXVII, 131, s'enflama.
Cetina CLXX, 1, derrama.

March LXXXVIII, 41, a 'rmadura.
Cetina CXCV, 1, armada.

March LXXXIX, 49, 50, confiu, zel.
Cetina CXCVI, 1, 2, fío, celo.

March XCIX, 36, enteniment.
Cetina CLXXVIII, 8, entendimiento.

March CII, 137, 140, ensens, pens.
Cetina CIX, 1, 4, incienso, pienso.

March CXXIII, 1, 2, 3, 6, 7,	passió, coneximent, sentiment, profitós, cobejós.
Cetina CLIII, 1, 2, 3, 9, 11.	apasionado, conocimiento, sentimiento, provechoso, codicioso.

Turning now to the sonnets of Italian inspiration that present corresponding rhymes, we observe that, as compared with the Catalan, a much larger number of Italian rhyme words enter into the compositions of Cetina. The initial verses of the Italian and the Castilian poems are reproduced below in order to show that Cetina's fidelity to the opening movement and wording of the Italian models is often as marked as is his dependence upon their schemes of rhyme:

Petrarch,	Amor, fortuna, e la mia mente schiva
Cetina VIII	Amor, fortuna, y la memoria esquiva
rhyme words:	1, 4, 5, 8, schiva, riva, priva, viva,
	1, 4, 5, 8, esquiva, priva, aviva, viva.
Petrarch,	Nè per sereno ciel ir vaghe stelle
Cetina CXLIV,	Ni por el cielo ver correr estrellas
rhyme words:	1, 3, 7, stelle, armati, prati,
	1, 3, 6, estrellas, armados, prados.
Tansillo,	Amor m'impenna l'ale, e tanto en alto
Cetina XI,	Amor mueve mis alas y tan alto
rhyme words:	1, 2, 5, 8, 14, alto, pensiero, assalto, salto, ardire,
	1, 2, 5, 8, 14, alto, pensamiento, exalto, salto, osadía.
Tansillo,	Quel nodo ch'io pensai che fosse sciolto
Cetina XV,	Aquel nudo que ya debía ser suelto
rhyme words:	1, 2, 3, sciolto, inganni, tiranni,
	1, 2, 3, suelto, daños, años.
Tansillo,	Qual rapida procella si repente
Cetina LVII,	Cuál fiera tempestad, cuál accidente
rhyme words:	1, 4, repente, dolcemente,
	1, 4, accidente, dulcemente.
Tansillo,	Cantai, or piango, e se nel duro petto

Cetina CXXVIII, Llorando vivo, y si en el fiero pecho
rhyme words: 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, petto, pianto, tanto, quanto, sospetto,
1, 2, 6, 7, 8, pecho, llanto, tanto, cuanto, sospecho.

Ariosto, Se senza fin son le cagion ch'io v'ami
Cetina CCXVI, Si tantas partes hay por vuestra parte
rhyme words: 2, 3, sospiri, mi ritiri,
2, 3, suspire, me retire.

Bembo, Se stata foste voi nel colle Ideo
Cetina CXXI, Laura, si cuando en la gran selva Idea
rhyme words: 1, 4, 5, 8, Ideo, cadeo, feo, poteo,
1, 4, 5, 8, Idea, dea, fea, vea.

Castiglione, Cantai, mentre nel cor lieto fioria
Cetina CXXXV, Mientra en mi la esperanza florecía
rhyme words: 1, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14,
fioría, la doglia mia, governo, eterno, canto, interno, pianto,
1, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14.
florecía, la pena mía, gobierno, eterno, canto, interno, llanto.

Sannazaro, Lasso, che ripensando al tempo breve
Cetina LIX, Cuando a contemplar vengo el curso breve

rhyme words: 1, 4, 5, breve, deve, neve,
1, 4, 5, breve, debe, nieve.

Coccio, Deh porgi mano a la mia fragil barca
Cetina CCX, Si no socorre Amor la frágil nave
rhyme words: 2, 9, 12, orgogli, vela, cela,
2. 9. 12, orgullos, vela, cela.

Gesualdo, O viva fiamma, o miei sospiri ardenti
Cetina XXIV, ¡Ay, vivo fuego! ¡Ay, fiero pensamiento!
rhyme words, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, tormenti, giocondo, canto, mondo, pianto,
8, 10, 11, 13, 14, tormentos, jocundo, canto, mundo, llanto.

Mozzarelli, Mentre i superbi tetti a parte a parte

Cetina CXXXI,	Mientra con gran temor por cada parte
rhyme words:	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, parte, belle, stelle, Marte, parte, governa, pianti,
	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, parte, bellas, estrellas, Marte, parte, gobierna, llanto.

Thus it is seen that the nineteen parallel instances where Castilian-Catalan rhyme correspondences are present show only thirty-six of these, as contrasted with fifty-three correspondences in thirteen Castilian-Italian parallels; and to these statistics we may add that fifteen of the sources in March, as contrasted with just one in Italian, have practically no word for word connection of any kind with the sonnets of Cetina they inspired. It is noteworthy, also, that there are only three cases of *rima aguda* in all of Cetina's two hundred and forty-three sonnets,[5] a circumstance which affords added proôf that March was not his model for form.[6] Indeed all indications point to Cetina's strict formal adherence to the Italian manner, an adherence which, as said before, was precisely the thing to be expected.

But if, as concerns formal imitation, little claim can be made for March, it is equally clear that there is in reality more of actual substance, both tangible and intangible, from the Valencian in the poetry of Cetina, than from all the Italian poets combined. So much can certainly be said in view of the discoveries outlined in this study, and it is also true that, although few of Cetina's poems left unmentioned could be considered as pointing with certainty to Italian inspiration, there are a considerable number that seem beyond reasonable doubt inspired by March.[7]

The Spanish poet, therefore, although unquestionably interested in the work of Petrarch and his successors in Italy, was to a greater degree attracted by the *cants d'amor* of March, and gave concrete evidence of the fact. One could not include as

[5] See sonnets 38 (sufrir, dormir, sentir, alegrar, dar); and 217 (mostró, feneció).

[6] Unless his frequent use of long rhyme words such as *inconveniente, conocimiento, pensamiento, sufrimiento*, etc., which are strongly reminiscent of March, can be regarded as evidence of a sort of formal imitation.

[7] Such as sonnets, 13, 16, 29, 35, 51, 62, 68, 74, 93, 96, 152, 182, 186, 230, 233, 234, 241, 244.

rivals of Cetina in this respect Romaní, who exercised himself solely with translation, nor Montemayor, whose poetic work, outside of the translation of a number of the *cants d'amor*, shows only slight incidental traces of March's influence. Neither could Hurtado de Mendoza, Garcilaso de la Vega, Luis de León, and Hernando de Acuña be compared with Cetina, because the traces of March in their works are relatively quite insignificant. Boscán and Fernando de Herrera are Cetina's only rivals, in a real sense, as imitators of March, since they alone give evidence in their verses of genuine assimilation of some of that poet's conceptions. Boscán's March-inspired sonnets, however, are hardly more than glossings of certain of the ideas of his countryman, and many of the borrowed thoughts of Herrera are, as said before, difficult to trace with exactness to their undoubted source in March's verses. Attempts to discover in the work of either of these two poets counterparts from March's stanzas result usually in perplexity, and in the conviction that they borrowed from him only a number of general ideas, not such definite concrete ideas and images as those with which the verses of Cetina are crowded, nor important and extended parts of March's own wording, such as pervade Cetina's poetry.

It results from what has been shown in the preceding pages that Cetina invented comparatively little, and that, when he soared above the commonplaces of amorous poetry, he frequently depended upon material drawn either from Italy or from Auzias March. This fact need not detract, however, from our admiration for his skill as a sonneteer. His *canciones* and *tercetos* do not represent his best work. Some of them indeed contain pleasing ideas (often derived apparently from the reading of March), but these ideas are too often unduly extended and too often repeated. With the sonnets the case is different, and it is certain that Cetina wrote some of the most graceful and finished ever composed in Spain.

Why he chose so much from March that suggested disease and the grave, instead of inclining oftener to the more cheerful moods of his model, as so susceptible and change-loving a young man might have been expected to do, it is, of course, impossible

to say. Sr. de Icaza thinks that practically all of the poetry of Cetina is autobiographical in nature. He did not, however, center his study on that part of the poet's work which was inspired by the Catalan; and it rather seems that in many of those discussions of metaphysical obscurities the Spanish poet, as well as his model, "se proposait de faire œuvre d'art plus encore que d'enregistrer les battements de son cœur."[8]

Further research, it may be said in conclusion, may result in the discovery of additional sources for Cetina's verses, but it is hoped that this study will be of service in establishing the chief literary interests of our poet, and will thereby aid in a better understanding of his works and of his place in Spain's renaissance of letters.

[8] Pagès, *Ausias March et ses Prédécesseurs*, p. 224.

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